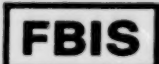


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2 February 1982

# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2479



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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2 February 1982

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No. 2479

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SPANISH CP LEADER ON ARAB AFFAIRS, RELATIONS

JN051218 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0930 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Baghdad, 5 Jan (INA)--Santiago Carrillo, Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party, has stressed that his party fully supports Iraq in its just war against Iran.

Speaking at a seminar during his recent visit to Iraq, Carrillo said that Iran had launched its aggressive war against Iraq for a colonialist aim within the framework of a plan to weaken Iraq's progressive Arab and international stands. However, he said, that plan failed to attain its objectives.

He described the situation in Iran as some sort of anarchy that has nothing to do with revolutionism. He added that what is taking place in Iran is a revival of religious fanaticism serving colonialist schemes not only against Iraq and what it represents but also against the role being played by the nonaligned movement internally and internationally.

He said that the Spanish Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party share joint essential stands, including their rejection of subservience and all forms of trusteeship. He added that the two parties have a unified stand toward military alliances and believe that independence is the ideal method for peoples' progress and prosperity.

He described his talks with the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party as an Arab-European dialogue aimed at consolidating the liberation line and the independent trend which serve peace. He said that the Iraqi Ba'th party's revolution is an advanced example for the Third World states and that President Saddam Husayn's leadership is a loved dynamic young leadership that enjoys revolutionary concepts.

The Spanish communist official said that his party supports without hesitation or reservation the struggle of the Palestinian people and the PLO as well as their right to restore their territory. Within this framework, he said, one can understand the comradely relations linking the Spanish Communist Party with the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and its revolution in Iraq.

He asserted that the multinational force to be deployed in the Sinai is a U.S.-Zionist scheme aimed at threatening the security of the progressive Arab states

and at attacking them. He attributed the desire of some European states to take part in this force to opportunist stands aimed at achieving short-term gains. He added that the U.S. attempt to implicate the European states in this force is due to the failure of the Camp David line after al-Sadat's death. He said that the Zionist entity's history is based on expansion and aggression against the Arab nation.

Carrillo said that Europe is living in a state of leftist awakening that requires several stages. He added that changes in Europe will serve the Palestinian cause because Israel is united with the United States and Europe in the current situation is revolving in a U.S. orbit. He added that victory will eventually be the lot of the independent European trend and said: There have been relative transformations in favor of Arab rights to Palestine in the stands of the Spanish, French, Italian and Greek masses.

He stressed that his party calls for a Spanish policy which is not aligned to either of the two camps and this is an ideal political option. He also said that his party rejects Spain's attempt to join NATO as this would have negative effects on the local level and sabotage Spain's relationship with the Third World states which adopt an independent course and which reject subservience.

CSO: 4404/223



## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

LOAN TO UGANDA--The Islamic Bank for Development signed an agreement with Uganda in Riyadh today to finance Uganda's import of motorcycles from Pakistan at the cost of U.S. \$1.758 million. The agreement was signed by Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali, the bank's governor, and by (Abu Bakr Nadoly), the Ugandan Charge d'Affaires in Saudi Arabia. [GF110445 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1256 GMT 10 Jan 82 GF]

CSO: 4404/223

GULF STATES FREEZE PROJECTS IN FRANCE

LD090928 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0820 GMT 9 Jan 82

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 9 Jan (KUNA)--A Kuwait paper today said that some members of the Gulf Cooperation Council have frozen industrial projects in France as a result of its attitude to Arab issues since President Francois Mitterrand won the presidency last may.

In a report attributed to well-informed sources, AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM did not name these states but said that a number of other Gulf states are currently contemplating freezing several projects with France for the same purpose; the paper did not reveal the nature of these projects. Citing its sources the paper also said that contacts are currently taking place among a number of Arab countries to adopt similar stances in view of the recent statements made by French Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson regarding the Palestinian question and Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights and his appeal to African states to restore diplomatic relations with the Zionist enemy; this is in addition to the appeal made to Europe by the socialist government in France to abandon its efforts to find a permanent peace in the region and to consider the Camp David accords as a good basis for peace.

CSO: 4404/223

UAE PAPER REPORTS HIJACKING ATTEMPT OF GULF PLANE

GF071842 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 7 Jan 82 p 12

[Text] Kuwait--Pakistani security authorities have recently aborted an attempt to hijack a Gulf Air plane flying from Bahrain to Karachi with Pakistani and Bahraini nationals on board.

Bahraini sources have informed AL-KHALIJ that Pakistani security authorities have apprehended a passenger holding a Bahraini passport carrying a suitcase of weapons on board the plane and have begun to interrogate him to determine if he has any partners.

The same sources have reported that Pakistani security authorities believe that the aim of the hijacking was to demand the release of the group recently arrested in Bahrain, whose links with Iran and whose aim of assassinating senior Bahraini officials have been proven by the Bahraini government.

The sources have added that Bahrain will inform the Gulf countries of the results of the interrogation being conducted by Pakistani authorities with the arrested person when these authorities inform the Bahraini government of the results.

CSO: 4404/223

BRIEFS

OPEC APPOINTMENTS--Vienna, 11 Jan (OPECNA)--Samuel Dossou-aworet, Governor for Gabon, was appointed chairman of the OPEC Board of Governors for one year, starting 1 January 1982, while Mr Wijarso, Governor for Indonesia, will be the alternate chairman. [Excerpt] [Vienna OPECNA in English 2010 GMT 11 Jan 82 LD]

CSO: 4400/112

REBELS PUTTING KABUL, SOVIETS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE

DW181756 Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by Walter H. Rueb: "Neither Kamikazes Nor Martyrs: The City Guerrilla in Kabul"]

[Text] Mao Zedong's books were also read in Afghanistan. In Kabul hundreds and even thousands of mostly young people put his theories on the people's war into practice--like fish in the water they are swimming in the sea of the people surrounding them. Above all in the past few months Afghan resistance against the Soviets and the Karmal regime has intensified. Even city guerrillas are becoming increasingly active.

In mid-November city guerrillas shelled the Kabul Intercontinental Hotel. They wanted to prove to foreign diplomats and journalists at the hotel that the government's constantly repeated assertion that all resistance is broken is wrong.

Early in December city guerrillas used missiles to attack the Soviet residential quarters in Kabul. At the same time the heating installations of the residential quarters near the International Airport were damaged by missiles. The residents, above all Soviet military advisers and industrial experts, had cold houses for days.

Recreational and leisure time activities at the small mountain spa of Paghmann near the city are rarely possible even for the leaders of Kabul's upper class. Motor rides from Kabul to Paghmann are too dangerous and are possible only by day with a heavily armed escort. The mujahidin are everywhere after having lost their respect for the Soviets even in Kabul's power center.

In the second half of December alone, roughly 100 Soviets and members of the Karmal regime were killed in a dozen raids in and around Kabul.

But the city guerrillas are by no means Afghan kamikazes or "holy war" fanatics dreaming about martyrdom to secure for themselves a place in paradise. It is true, every mujahidin is prepared to die in the struggle against the "Godless," but the city guerrillas are not bent on suicide in performing their dangerous mission.

Mohammed Ali, a 30 year-old former shopkeeper from Ghazni in central Afghanistan, has been fighting underground in Kabul for 20 months. "There are many small

guerrilla groups in Kabul spread over various parts of the city. Altogether we total several hundred. I am working with a group of 15 men in the district of Dashtebersi. We are in contact with all the other groups. My group has only 4 Kalashnikovs which we captured from the Russians. We operate according to exact plans and always proceed very carefully. We have had losses but so far not one member of our group has been detained."

"We also lay mines. Therefore, the Russians can only use asphalt roads. But in our area most roads are not surfaced... that means that the Russians are afraid to use them. It is valuable for us that women are now also fighting in our ranks. Women can do jobs which are extremely dangerous for men. Because they wear veils, they can take pamphlets, arms and ammunition from one point to another without being stopped and checked. Women also carry messages because we don't have radios."

Mujahidin have also been operating in women's clothes lately. After the compulsory recruitment of all Afghans between the ages of 16 and 35, it is dangerous for men of this age group to move on Kabul's roads. Karmal's security forces are always on the move, checking all males and thus complicating the work of the city guerrilla. Because they do not dare check people wearing veils, given the fact that in all Muslim states women are not to be touched, the guerillas also enjoy advantages from the present situation.

At any rate, Kabul's street scenes have basically changed. You see very many women; men are either very old or wear the hateful uniforms of Karmal's and Brezhnev's army. But even the latter are less numerous than they used to be. Meanwhile all Russians have realized that it is dangerous to venture out of doors unprotected.

In the Kabul bazaar you see heavily armed Russians buying textiles. They are said to have their clothes made according to the national custom to be able to move freely at all. The shopping mania of the occupants in Kabul's textile bazaar is by no means attributed solely to the fact that the prices now are also written in cyrillic.

Traders and merchants have adapted themselves to the wishes of the Soviet soldiers. They attract them with fashionable clothes, cigarettes, radios, recorders and all the marvellous western things into their shops. The Russians do not have much money, but the Afghans are very willing to accept arms, ammunition and other objects from the stocks of the Soviet army as payment for their goods instead of rubles, dollars or Afghani.

There has been much activity at Kabul Airport over past weeks. Aircraft bound for Moscow and other airports on the other side of the northern Afghan border are fully booked. For security reasons many family members of Soviet military officers, military advisers and specialists are returning home.

In Kabul the Soviets feel especially strongly what it means to hold one's own in a people's war. They feel threatened by the daggers in the bazaar, Russian armored scout cars venture into the suburbs only in convoys of at least 4 cars and the streets to the airport are covered with the "scars" of mine craters.



Even in the kindergarten war is waged against the Russians. The children recently refused to drink their milk. They had heard that it is flown in every day from the southern Soviet republics.

In the capital city, the number of children whose parents have been killed in combat action, are imprisoned or have fled has arisen to 30,000. Government and administration officials and employees are supposed to build a house for some of them on their only day off in the week and naturally without payment. The mood of the civil servants fits the situation and loyalty to the regime is rare. The beneficiaries of dissatisfaction and hidden opposition are the city guerrillas and the mujahidin operating outside Kabul. Recently they received 28,000 warm sets of clothing of Soviet origin from government stocks--sent by employees of the clothing store.

And, so of late, the Soviets are increasingly exposed to ridicule: Cartoons of the "ugly Russian" are shown all over the city. Dates of years, such as 1982, 1983 and more rarely 1984, can be seen everywhere. Afghans have painted and sprayed these figures on the walls for the Soviets, meaning that in 1982, 1983 or 1984 at the latest the Soviet domination is to be ended...

It is a former scholar of the Soviets and officer of the Afghan army who works determinedly so as to make this dream come true. Said Nazim, who is in charge of the training of new guerrilla fighters in the capital. The 35-year old short-haired former major with the sharp-cut features is the most dangerous enemy of the Soviets in Kabul. Nazim is Afghanistan's best specialist for mines and explosives.

"The urban guerrillas of Kabul work closely together," he says, "if more material were available to us then we would be in a position to produce even more mines and to destroy even more Soviet tanks. Over the last six months we destroyed almost 70 tanks in Kabul and in the province." He has learned his trade from the Russians: In 1971 the young officer was trained by Soviet military advisers in the construction of mines and in the utilization of explosives.

Said Nazim is fighting for more than two and a half years now. He was participating actively in the uprising of the military against the communist Taraki regime in August 1979. In Bala Hissar he lost his brother, was arrested later on as being responsible for the mutiny in Kandahar, thrown in jail, but released after the Soviet invasion. The new rulers did not want to do without the brilliant officer. This was a grave mistake because they now have to fight against him.

Some time ago, Nazim has developed a new method, which does not allow any Soviet tank to escape his mines hidden on the ground of streets. Before, tanks whose tracks did not rattle directly over the mines were able to survive. But for some time now his guerilleros are hiding the mines somewhat deeper in the ground, putting a wooden beam across the street. "Now a tank is blown up at any rate," Said Nazim says. "They are passing over the wooden beam in any event, thereby detonating the mine."

The officer knows that he is wanted by the Russians and that a high price in cash is set on his head. In the face of the well-functioning communist spy system this is a great threat to Said Nazim, and this is why he does not permit to have his photograph taken.

In view of Nazim's successes in the struggle against the Soviet tanks the famous words of Olof Palme gain an entirely new quality: "A Soviet tank is worth approximately 30,000 class rooms, measured by Afghan standards," the Swedish socialist leader is reported to have said. According to Palme's calculation 70 tanks correspond to the value of 2.1 million class rooms....

The Soviets always apologized for their military set-backs in the no man's land between the mountains and the barren land by saying that they are not interested in dominating Afghanistan's waste alpine world. Not too long ago, the English principle of preventing any resistance by "picketing the heights" was a scorn to them. They were merely interested in being in control of the big cities, airports and traffic routes, they hinted.

Since the guerrilla activities have increased even in the capital many observers now wonder what the respective Soviet reactions will be like--in the propagandistic as well as in the military fields.

CS0: 4620/17

SOVIET TORTURE TECHNIQUES IN POLITICAL PRISON DESCRIBED

DW181353 Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by Walter H. Rueb: "Life Turns Into Hell in Pol-e-Charkhi Prison"]

[Text:] The communist regime in Kabul and the Soviet occupation troops are not only fighting against the Afghan people militarily but are also seeking to break resistance with means tried and tested since Stalin: Arrests, torture, forced confessions, convictions. Consequently, the prisons throughout the country are full of political prisoners. Rarely do inmates succeed in escaping the Afghan-Soviet persecution machinery.

Abdul Wahid, a 30-year-old former agricultural engineer from Paktia Province, is one of the few who survived detention in the notorious Kabul Prison of Pol-e-Charkhi. While there, the young Afghan went through the "complete treatment" by the Soviets and by the Afghan secret service.

Following his arrest by the communist putschists in the summer of 1978, Abdul Wahid was first acquainted with Kunduz Prison in northern Afghanistan. "There, political prisoners are beaten and subjected to electric shocks," he reports. "But I learned about some other methods of treatment as well: the secret service people put square pieces of wood between the prisoners' fingers, bound them up tightly and then immersed their hands in water. After a short while, the wood swelled and the inmate suffered the torment of hell... Other prisoners were treated with electric shocks while standing in water, and needles were shoved under the fingernails of many prisoners. Worst of all was the bone scraping: the torturers push needles into the fingertips of the victims down to the bone and then scrape..."

The witness reported the horrible death of a 22-year-old prisoner who had both of his legs chopped off before the prison director personally shot him to death for refusing to deliver the desired confession. The lushbeard of an 85-year-old man was torn out hair by hair until all that was left of his face was a bloody pulp... The tormentors wanted details about the whereabouts and activities of his son, and when the old man did not disclose anything, the tormentors finally rubbed salt into his bleeding face....

Interrogated by Officials from the Soviet Union and the "GDR"

In January 1980 Abdul Wahid was one of the prisoners who were released on the basis of Karmal's partial amnesty. Despite the pains suffered, he did not

hesitate to join the fighters against communist terror and oppression. But his freedom did not last long. Abdul Wahid recalls: "One day I went from the front to Kabul where massive demonstrations took place against the Karmal regime. Many people were arrested, including myself. We were taken to Pol-e-Charkhi prison.

"Pol-e-Charkhi consists of four blocks--blocks one, two, three and four. In block two the prisoners of the secret service are held. I experienced something entirely new here: There were officials from the Soviet Union, the GDR, Bulgaria and Iran. They did the interrogating. Russians and Germans handled the most important inmates; they also had more authority than the others.

"During the interrogations they first tried to get what they wanted with promises. Anyone confessing would be granted a scholarship to study in Eastern Europe. The girls there are beautiful, studies are easy and the stay there is full of diversion. They also used good positions as a temptation. The interrogations were aimed at proving the prisoners' contacts with outlawed political organizations and at learning the names of important persons in the underground and, of course, their whereabouts.

"Whenever the promises were not successful the different periods of torture began immediately. To begin with we were repeatedly beaten with wooden strips and cables.

"Visitors were prohibited during detention, and the prisoners were not allowed to talk with each other. The cells in which we were held were 1 meter by 2 meters. The toilets also were in the cells, and huge, naked lightbulbs suspended from the ceiling were kept burning day and night. This was torture in itself...

#### With Bare Feet Over Broken Glass

"Whoever withstood the first tortures came to know the gymnastics apparatus. This was the name of what was suspended from the ceiling in a huge room. Rings were hanging down on ropes. The legs of the prisoners were tied to these rings and the prisoners beaten time and again while hanging upside down. We had to undress before the torture.

"Other methods were applied in the third period of torture: The prisoners had to march over broken bottles and jars, with bare feet, of course, first fast and then slow. We had to repeatedly jump up and down. The worst was when we were ordered to lie down...

"A torture which only few came to know was dreaded. The officials put a sort of helmet on your head which, however, came down only as far as your ears. The helmet was connected with a device by a cable, then you received electric shocks. These were not normal electric shocks...you suffered horrible pain in your whole body--as if you were pricked by thousands of needles. You felt as though you had to vomit all your innards... It was terrible. The whole thing lasted for a minute at best, but afterwards you were unable to move for days..."

This Afghan, who survived this hell, lost his health at Pol-e-Charkhi. All his personal effects were taken away from him too--watch, money, clothing, shoes, papers.

He has been suffering from insomnia to this day. "There were 8,000 inmates in block two alone where the prisoners of the secret services were detained," says Abdul Wahid. "Block two was so overcrowded that we had to sleep in shifts. Four men were detained in a cell intended for two. When I was released work was just starting on an annex building. Meanwhile, prisoners already numbered more than 20,000."

Satellite photographs shot by the Americans have since shown that the annex building was completed in record time. Pol-e-Charkhi, the biggest and probably most terrible prison of the world, can now hold nearly 30,000 people.

CSO: 4620/18

CLERGYMEN PRAISE KARMAL'S MOSQUE DIRECTIVE

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, December 30 (Bakhtar).— In a meeting in a major congregational mosque in Kabul yesterday, the preachers and 'imams' of the city mosques expressed appreciation of the recent instruction issued by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC, on the supply of fuel to the mosques as well as repair and construction of those mosques destroyed by the enemies of Islam.

The gathering was attended by Dr Sayeed Afghani, president of the Islamic affairs department, members of the high council of the department and some ulama and clergymen.

The meeting began with the recitation of a few verses from the holy Koran.

Then the president of the department spoke on the role of clergymen and religious scholars, specially the preachers, in propagating and publicising the objectives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government among Muslim people of the country.

He said: "Our party and Government have opted for the path of peace, prosperity and understanding and struggles against disunity, terror, injustice, and other social disorders."

He added: "It is the duty of you clergymen and religious scholars to explain the facts about the Saur Revolution, in the light of its lofty and humane objectives and in awareness of your responsibility towards God Almighty."

He expressed gratitude for the instruction issued by Karmal.

Other religious scholars, addressing the gathering, condemned the "shameless interventions of the enemies of Afghanistan" and said that it is the duty of religious scholars to correct those who have been "deceived by the venomous propaganda of imperialism and have kept away from the their party and Government".

They also expressed gratitude for the cash assistance to be given to the poor 'imams' and preachers of the mosques in accordance with Karmal's instruction.



## KESHTMAND STRESSES PLAN FULFILLMENT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 31 Dec 81 p 1

[Speech by S. A. Keshtmand, chairman of Council of Ministers]

[Text] KABUL, December 31 (Bakhtar).— A seminar to assess the extent of implementation of the Plan for 1360 H.S., for the staff of the Mines and Industries, and the Water and Power Ministries, was convened at the headquarters of the Council of Ministers yesterday.

Sultan Ali Keshtmand, PDPA CC Politburo member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the seminar. The Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Ministers of Mines and Industries, Water and Power and Finance, the first deputy chairman of State Planning Committee, the president of the state administration and local organs department and the deputies, heads of departments and employees of the Ministries were also present at the seminar.

Keshtmand in his inaugural speech said, "The DRA Council of Ministers has decided to convene a seminar for the employees and incharges of the Mines and Industries and Water and Power Ministries to assess the activities of these two Ministries during the

last months of the year and to specify their fundamental tasks in improving their work and their future activities."

"The successful implementation of our social and economic tasks is before us. The leadership and the system of economy administration must evolve steadily and at all levels and the work method of all state establishments must be improved", Keshtmand said.

He added, "Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the DRA RC, in his significant speech addressed to the Seventh Plenum of the CC said, At present our party and revolutionary state is at that stage of its evolutionary process when we have to handle and solve all questions concerning the consolidation of the party and state power organs, the drawing of masses towards the revolution, the administration of economy and others tasks with responsibility and tactfully. We, with due respect to our cadres, have to therefore promote order and discipline to see that their as-

signed duties are properly discharged. We declare real struggle against any irresponsibility, lack of discipline, exhibition of factionalism and lack of initiative. We have undertaken a great responsibility for the sake of the destiny of the country. This is a heavy and difficult but noble undertaking. This should set our disciplinary norms, regarding cadres and their responsibilities in view of their work'."

"Based on this precise assessment by Comrade Karmal, the creation of strict and firm discipline in state establishments and its reinforcement is considered one of our most important tasks in the present stage and plays a valuable role in the evolution of all our efforts", Keshtmand said.

Then, the session's agenda was presented. Accordingly, Eng Mohammad Esmail Danesh, Minister of Mines and Industries, and Dr Raz Mohammad Fakteen, Minister of Water and Power, presented detailed reports on the work of their respective Ministries.

The session was also addressed by some

departmental heads and employees of the Ministries of Mines and Industries and Water and Power and the representative of the CC economic section.

After a speech by Dr Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, a resolution was adopted. Then Keshtmand delivered the concluding speech.

#### Economic Growth

Again addressing the participants, he said, "As it is clear, the PDPA attaches special value and importance to the economic growth of the country and believes that the removal of economic backwardness and the escalation of the growth of the country's productive forces is one of the most important factors and a fundamental condition in the realisation of the aims to find ways to elevate the living standard of the people and introduce profound social transformations that may lead to the creation of a new society, void of exploitation of man by man, in accordance with the principles of equality and social justice."

"The growth of our economy is being promoted in the present difficult circumstances. The enemies of the Saur Revolution, that is, international imperialism, Chinese hegemonism, reactionary regimes of some countries and internal reaction have waged an undeclared war against the DRA and try to hinder the economic and social progress of our country, Keshtmand said.

"The Revolution's enemies, however, in spite of all their destructive acts, have not been able to achieve their un auspicious goals to disrupt the country's economy," he said.

"It is imperative that we organise self-defence work in establishments along with advancing struggle against bandits."

"Sympathetically, we must seek new ways to keep the productive establishments active. Right now conditions for the execution of the most important state duties exist and we can make use of the reserve sources of the productive establishments and remove the present problems. What is needed now is struggle against laziness. Indifference and satisfaction with the state of routine work must end."

"Necessary initiatives must be introduced. The assigned duties must be accomplished honestly and honorably. We must employ all necessary efforts so that the working class will take active part in solving economic problems and defending the gains of the Saur Revolution," he said.

At the close of his speech, Hesthmand said "Let us, with revolutionary optimism, say and assure the party CC and the revolutionary state, led by Comrade Karmal, that we shall continue our constructive efforts imaginatively in all spheres, among them in the spheres of industrial and power growth in the country and shall play a befitting and important part in the realisation of the revolution's ideals and in ensuring of social and economic progress of our beloved countries."

## BRIEFS

IRANIAN OFFICIAL ADDRESS PRESS CONFERENCE--Karachi, 11 Jan--'Abbas Zamani Abu Sharif, Iranian charge d'affaires in Pakistan, has said that trade and economic cooperation between Iran and Pakistan will be further increased. Addressing a press conference this evening at the Iranian Consulate here he said: Talks are underway to revive regional cooperation between Iran and Pakistan." He added that Iran wants friendly ties with Islamic and nonaligned countries. Mr 'Abbas continued: "Islamic unity week is being celebrated in Iran, and prayers are being held for solidarity among Islamic nations." In reply to a question regarding Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said: "Iran strongly condemns Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and is aware of U.S. plans as well. All superpowers support nations in accordance with their own interests." He said that in Iran the opposition party is permitted to criticize the government, and the Tudeh Party is active. He said that alcohol, social anarchy and corruption have rendered the West impotent. Western countries are fanning the flames of discord among Islamic countries and are stirring up sectarian differences between Shi'ites and Sunnis in keeping with the policy of "divide and conquer." He appealed to all Muslims to unite. [Text] [GF191218 Karachi NAWA-E-WAQT in Urdu 13 Jan 82 p 6]

FAMILIES RETURN--Twenty-six Afghan families who left the country as a result of the false and venomous propaganda of counterrevolutionaries have returned to their homeland via Torkham. They were given a rousing welcome by officers stationed there. [GF191812 Kabul in Urdu to South Asia 1330 GMT 19 Jan 82]

DEFENSE MINISTRY COMMAND COURSE--Kabul, January 5 (BAKHTAR)--An operative course for the commanders, the chief of staff heads, political chiefs and in-charges of education in the Armed Forces was inaugurated in the headquarters of the Defence Ministry the day before yesterday morning. Lt Gen Baba Jan, Chief of General Staff, in his speech, explained the political, military, and economic conditions of the country. He drew the attention of the participants to their duties in defence of the borders of the country. Maj Gen Aqa, president of the political affairs department of the Armed Forces, also explained the need for military and political education. The president of the education department and some other departmental heads of the ministry also spoke. A department source said that the course will last five days. In the last three days, shooting exercises and instruction will be held. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 5 Jan 82 p 1]

RULING PARTY PURGE BEGINS--New Delhi, 20 Jan (AFP)--A purge has begun in the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and important changes in the party hierarchy are likely to be announced at the forthcoming party congress in late March, diplomatic sources said here today. The sources, who had access to information from Kabul, said a number of party members of the PDPA had already been expelled. The expulsions followed a decision by the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal regime in Kabul to implement a Moscow-tailored plan to reorganise the faction-ridden party. The plan, coined in October, was unveiled early this month when state-owned Kabul Radio broadcast the proceedings of a ceremony for the distribution of new party membership cards. Western diplomats and Indian analysts had said that the plan was aimed at reducing the influence of the relatively independent and influential Khalq faction, which is opposed to Babrak Karmal's Parcham faction in the party, and to purge members of doubtful allegiance to the Soviet Union. [Text] [BK200951 Hong Kong AFP in English 0934 GMT 20 Jan 82]

CONTRACT WITH SOVIET FIRMS--Kabul, 18 Jan (BAKHTAR)--A contract for the delivery of 40,000 tons of sugar was concluded between Sugar and Petroleum Products Department of the DRA and the Soviet firms "Vostokintorq." Under this protocol, the Soviet Union will deliver 40,000 tons of sugar to the Afghan side in the second half of the year 1982. This delivery is in addition to the 40,000 tons of sugar already completed. [Text] [Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0424 GMT 19 Jan 81]

CSO: 4600/198

## DOMESTIC POLITICS ANALYZED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 pp 2, 3

[Text]

The Central Committee of the ruling Front de Liberation National decided last week to expel three of its most senior members, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Belaid Abdesselam and Sid Ahmed Ghazali. The action provides overt evidence that President Chadli Benjedid has effected a gradual but significant change in the political and economic outlook of his country in the three years since the death of his austere predecessor Houari Boumedienne.

Dreams of turning Algeria into a modern industrialised nation that would be the "Japan of the Mediterranean" have given way to a more pragmatic concern with improving the efficiency of unwieldy state corporations, promoting agriculture and giving some long-absent encouragement to the private sector. Pushing Algeria as a model of revolutionary purity in the Third World is now of less concern than ending the country's relative isolation by improving relations with the United States, Europe and its African neighbours, while maintaining a strict policy of non-alignment.

A close collaborator with President Boumedienne and one time contender to succeed him, Mr Bouteflika was Algeria's Foreign Minister for 15 years until 1979. His position in the government has been gradually eroded since President Benjedid's accession to power. Mr Abdesselam directed economic policy for 12 years under President Boumedienne, but was ousted from the government in March 1979. Since mid-1980 he has remained on the sidelines of political activity. Sid Ahmed Ghazali, a protege of Mr Abdesselam, was at the head of the large state-owned hydrocarbons enterprise Sonatrach from 1966 to 1977 before becoming Minister of Energy. His criticism of Mr Belkacem Nabi, the man who replaced him in October 1979, led to his removal from the government.

The latest measure is thus largely symbolic in that all three men were already on the way down, but it focuses attention on changes in policy now under way. The policies of the old guard are being blamed for Algeria's heavy indebtedness, excessive reliance on external

aid, and colossal wastages resulting from the cumbersome nature of grandiose, but ill-studied projects.

The present regime hopes to rectify the mistakes of the past by slowing the pace of industrialisation in order to achieve better management and productivity in relation to existing projects. Some, like the giant Sonatrach, are to be decentralised or restructured (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, December 21). The large industrial centres at Arzew, Algiers, Skikda and Annaba will be complemented by the creation of a network of small and intermediate enterprises, both public and private.

The rehabilitation of the private investor or businessman as a necessary ally of the revolution rather than a "parasite" was highlighted by the recent decision of the FLN Central Committee to draw up a new code of conduct for the private sector. Many senior officials now feel that an enlarged role for private business may be the best way to raise disastrously low levels of productivity in the state industries.

The private sector currently contributes about a third of GNP and employs about two-thirds of the labour force, mainly in agriculture. Agriculture is expected to boost its capacity to meet the food needs of Algeria's 20 million people.

At present, Algeria produces less than half its cereal requirements and even with continuing revenues from oil and gas, the country will be hard-pressed to maintain the living standards of a population which is expected to double by the year 2000.

Algerian efforts to adjust to harsh economic reality have been slow and uncertain. President Benjedid's pragmatic approach has inspired recent decisions to adopt a more realistic economic policy and give more scope to the private sector, moves which would have been anathema to his more doctrinaire predecessors. It remains to be seen whether he can fend off ideological and political challenges and cut away some of the dead wood of bureaucracy within the FLN itself so as to allow real economic progress.



## DOMESTIC PLANNING REVIEWED

London 8 DAYS in English No 2, 16 Jan 82 p 21

[Article by Howard Schissel: "A Year of Shortfalls for Algeria"]

[Text]

ALGERIA'S economic planners hope that 1982 will make up for serious delays and setbacks during the first two years of the country's Five Year Development Plan (1980-84), and lay the groundwork both for basic change in the official planning mechanism and for a fundamental transformation of the economic system.

During 1980-81, investment in development schemes did not match government programmes. Last year Algerian dinars 85bn (\$21.25bn) was earmarked for investment, but only AD 67bn (\$16bn) of new capital was actually injected into the economy.

The gap between actual and planned investment will produce serious short-term bottlenecks in the economy and, more ominously, will undermine longer-term prospects. In Algeria's centrally-planned system delays in, say, construction of industrial plant or of housing for workers have automatic knock-on effects on related projects and can have repercussions on other sectors of the economy.

None of the goals in the mini-1981 economic plan were attained. For instance, industrial production rose by a respectable 11 per cent, but this was far short of the targeted 14.5 per cent. Likewise, in the building industry and public works, the growth rate last year was a mere 5 per cent, against the 10 per cent sought by economic planners.

In total, the non-hydrocarbon section of the economy grew by 7 per cent, against a projected 9.7 per cent. Agriculture, for which figures are still not available, is clearly the economy's blackspot; output, at best, is stagnating, while the population is expanding rapidly.

As for the crucial oil and gas industry, Sonatrach, the state hydrocarbon monopoly, has fallen well short of its production targets for 1981: 45m tonnes of crude oil, 8m tonnes of condensates, 16.7 bn cubic metres of liquefied natural gas (LNG), 1.4m tonnes of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) and 15.5m tonnes of refined products.

Apart from condensates, it is clear that none of these goals has been met. Oil output probably did not exceed 35m tonnes, of which approximately 11m tonnes was refined. LNG sales will not surpass half the projected level.

Abdel Hamid Brahimi, the planning and regional development minister, says: 'Hydrocarbon export revenues in 1981 will not reach AD 60bn (\$14.2bn) because of the international situation, but will probably be closer to AD 55bn (\$13bn).' If this is so, hydrocarbon revenues for last year will be 8.2 per cent below forecasts, albeit about 14.8 per cent above those for 1980. This, however, is mainly because of the appreciation of the dollar, which rose approximately 20 per cent against the Algerian dinar in 1981.

In the longer term, the delays so far in realising the plan's objectives will retard the Algerians in their drive to reduce dependence on the industrial world, both for manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The country's economic planners still believe that by 1990 the country can consolidate the foundation of its future economic independence.

In Algerian government circles 1982 is viewed as the crucial halfway point in the 1980-84 development plan, largely determining its eventual success or failure. It will



be a tough job to meet the planners' projections: 10 per cent growth in gross domestic product, 14.5 per cent for the industrial sector, 10 per cent for construction and public works and the creation of around 200,000 new jobs.

Qualitative elements are to play a key role. The state sector is to be restructured and reorganisation of giant conglomerates like Sonatrach is designed to upgrade efficiency and facilitate decision-making on the local level.

There is to be a more basic shift in the planning process itself. Henceforth planning activity will encompass not only the projection of growth curves, an often artificial and abstract endeavour, but also the overall process of realising these goals. Thus, activities which condition production of goods and services, such as supply of raw materials, distribution, financing, employment, housing and prices, are also to be taken into consideration. In this way it is hoped that coordination between the different branches of government and the economic sector, one of the traditional blackspots of the Algerian economy, can be improved.

Commenting on the new measures, a senior Algerian official told *8 Days*: 'The guiding principle underlying these reform efforts is that industrial growth is not just the result of massive investment outlay, but also highly contingent on human factors like organisation, mobilisation of the labour force and coordination.'

This new approach is an implicit criticism of the path taken in the 1970s under the late President Houari Boumedienne, and his economic 'Tsar', Belaid Abdelsalam. The latter created the concept of 'industrialising industries', but is seen as having forgotten to ensure the existence of the basic cement which brings coherence to an emergent national economy.

Another objective of the 1982 mini-plan is to make progress in programming foreign trade. Above all, the country will strive to limit its dependence on the industrialised states by reducing, wherever possible, its imports of non-essential goods. It is hoped that this restriction will help reduce Algeria's huge foreign debt. Finally, a drive is to be launched to diversify trading partners, with special attention to be accorded to sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb states and Eastern Europe.

CSO: 4500/93

## BRIEFS

STATE COMPANY RESTRUCTURED--The Algerian government has ordered the restructuring of the Societe Nationale des Constructions Mecaniques (Sonacome), a giant state-owned concern with manufactures and markets a wide range of machinery and automobiles. The move is part of a general effort on the part of the Algerian authorities to cut the country's nationalised enterprises down to a more manageable size with the aim of raising their productivity and improving their financial position. Last year, the hydrocarbons combine Sonatrach was split into three autonomous companies under the aegis of the Energy Ministry (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, December 21, 1981). Sonacome, which employed nearly 29,000 people in 1980, is also to be divided into three companies. The first will make and import agricultural equipment and will have its headquarters at Sidi Bel Abbes. It will include the engine and tractor unit at Oued Hamimime, Constantine, as well as installation owned by the National Office of Agricultural Equipment. The second enterprise, to be known as the Societe Nationale des Vehicules Industriels, will produce vehicles for road transport and distribution and will undertake related import-export activities. Its headquarters will be at Rouiba, the site of a large industrial vehicles complex. The third is the Entreprise Nationale de Distribution de Vehicules Particuliers, Cycles et Motocycles, based in Algiers. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 9]

COOPERATION WITH CHINA--Algeria signed an economic and technical cooperation agreement with China after a 3-day visit by an Algerian delegation led by Finance Minister M'hamed Hadj Yala to Peking last week. According to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, who hosted the Algerian delegation, said that "we have reached agreement on some economic and technical cooperation items. This is a good beginning." The agreements are reported to include setting up a committee for economic, trade and technical cooperation, a plan for cultural exchanges in 1982-83, and scientific and railway cooperation. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 11 Jan 82 pp 9,10]

CRUDE PRICES CUT--Signs that the oil glut and associated low levels of economic activity in oil-importing countries will persist in 1982 were abundant last week with several major oil exporters beginning the year with cuts in their oil prices. Mexico shaved the price of its heavy Maya crude by a full two dollars to \$26.50 a barrel in response to deflated demand in the market, following Venezuelan cuts ranging from 29 to 90 cents a barrel for its heavy crudes. The Venezuelan move came after months of resistance on the part of Oil Minister Humberto Calderon Berti to OPEC efforts to institute reductions in differentials and must have been a particularly difficult decision to make, given domestic political and economic concerns. And Algeria, one of OPEC's "hawks," cut the price for its light crude by fifty cents to \$37 a barrel, a price which refining companies view as still too high for the depressed demand. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 10]

## SECURITY AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SAUDI ARABIA

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 52, 28 Dec 81 pp 2-3

[Text]

Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have signed an agreement providing for closer security cooperation between the two countries. The signing of the pact followed the recent unveiling of a plot allegedly master-minded by the revolutionary Islamic government in Iran to overthrow the Bahraini government and destabilise the Gulf region. The new agreement apparently provides for close cooperation between the interior ministries of the two countries and the extradition of criminals.

Speaking in Manama after the signing ceremony, Saudi Arabia's Interior Minister Prince Nayef bin Abdul Aziz said he had been instructed by King Khaled and Prince Fahd to "place all the Kingdom's potentials at the disposal of Bahrain to maintain its security," which he said was also the security of Saudi Arabia. He accused the Tehran authorities of organising a terrorist network to undermine the stability of "all the Gulf states from Oman to Kuwait."

Prince Nayef stressed that he expected all Gulf states to join the Saudi-Bahrain security accord as a result of their common conviction that Ayatollah Khomeini's regime poses a genuine threat to their security. Bahraini Interior Minister Sheikh Mohammed al-Khalifa was quoted by Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Anba*

as calling for the creation of a "Gulf rapid deployment force" to counter possible subversion in the region.

Following the withdrawal by Bahrain and Iran of the ambassadors to each other's countries, Iran's Prime Minister Hussein Musavi delivered a warning to the Arab Gulf states which have been siding with Iraq in the Gulf war. Mr Musavi said bluntly, "Your ports and supply routes are under our control. We are aware of your treason and it would be better for you to stop supporting the Iraqi regime." However, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati earlier affirmed his country's respect for the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of other nations.

The publicity given to the alleged coup attempt in Bahrain and the recriminations which accompanied it have brought relations between the Islamic regime and the Arab states of the Gulf to a new low. The security pact between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain dramatises the extent to which the Arab Gulf states feel threatened by Iran's declared ambition to export its fundamentalist revolution. It will provide a further focus for resentment in Tehran at what Iran sees as a concerted campaign against it orchestrated by Baghdad and Riyadh.

CSO: 4400/115

## BAHRAIN

### BRIEFS

REFINERY SETS RECORD--Bahrain's oil refinery averaged output of 259,000 b/d during 1981, the highest in its 45 years of operations, Bahrain's Minister for Development and Industry Yusuf Ahmed al-Shirawi announced last week. The refinery's normal production capacity is 250,000 b/d. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 11]

CSO: 4400/115

## CALM PREVAILS AS UNIVERSITIES OPEN, MANY PROBLEMS ADDRESSED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2976, 23 Oct 81 pp 34-38

[Article by Ahmad Raslan: "First Day of New Academic Year at University Confirms That Year Will Be Ideally Calm; Calm and Discipline Prevail in Egyptian Universities; What Is Task of University Guard and Are They Entitled To Interfere in Personal Freedom; Late Leader Granted 12 Million Pounds to Universities To Solve Problem of University Textbooks; Universities Are for Learning Only and All Resources Are for True Seeker of Education Alone; Guard Commander: 99 Percent of Students Have Enrolled and Have Been Disciplined"]

[Text] Last Saturday, AL-MUSAWWAR was at the university gates with the students and it recorded in photographs and words the first day of the new academic year. The features of the new academic year have begun to emerge. All the signs indicate that it will be an ideally calm academic year with reinstatement of the university guard and full restoration of student activities now that discipline has prevailed in all of the Egyptian universities.

The new academic year has begun. Twelve universities in various parts of Egypt have opened their doors for one-half million university students. Studies started as of the first day in 150 colleges in these universities. Calm has prevailed in the various universities. The new academic year has assumed a new quality. With reinstatement of the college guard, discipline has prevailed and all the students have begun to respect order within the university campus. Several solutions have been drawn up for the problems faced by the students inside the university throughout the year so that the students may devote their time to learning. For example, the problem of the university textbook has found a solution with a touch from the late Anwar al-Sadat, who granted the universities 12 million pounds to develop their printing presses. The problem of student housing has also begun to move toward solution. Cairo University has overcome the problem of faculty members with the start of the new year. There are other solutions that will be implemented in the other universities. The system of student supervision has been amended so that student advisers can discuss student problems with the students weekly. The new system gives the student activity advisers and the youth welfare supervisors all of the necessary resources so that full activities can be restored at the universities.

On the first day of the new academic year, AL-MUSAWWAR interviewed Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of Cairo University, to find out from him the features of the new academic year at Cairo University and to learn from him how the problems of



faculty shortage, university textbook prices and student housing are tackled and also to learn from him the image of the new year in the wake of the emergence of a new element, namely, reinstatement of the university guard at the request of university presidents.

#### Flying Professor

[Question] An important problem in the life of our universities is the shortage of faculty members, especially in the provincial universities. There has come into existence the so-called flying professor, or taxi professor, who teaches at more than one university and whose work is tied to train schedules and other transportation schedules. How does Cairo University deal with the problem of the shortage of faculty members?

[Answer] In fact, Cairo University has been more fortunate than others in solving this problem. We have reached standard levels in nine of the university's colleges insofar as the number of faculty members compared to students is concerned. I will detail the figures to you later. The aim of raising the level and increasing it to standard numbers is to try to realize a standard teaching performance by members of the teaching faculties, after training the instructors holding doctorate degrees. The increase in the loaning of professors to other countries and Egypt's pan-Arab commitment to cover the greater Arab homeland's needs for the vast Egyptian expertise have caused some colleges, especially at the provincial universities, to fail to realize standard levels. This is aside from the increased numbers of students enrolled in the universities each year. But Cairo University, in constant cooperation with the advanced foreign countries, is engaged in a ceaseless compensatory process to train and prepare new cadres from among faculty members with various specializations in order to make up for the deficit.

To make up for the deficit at the internal level, and this is fundamental, we have appointed 350 top university graduates as instructors in the 1981-82 academic year so as to meet the actual needs for instructors who assist teaching faculty members. The priority of appointment has been given this year to those graduating with an evaluation of excellent and an honorable mention, those graduating with an evaluation of very good and an honorable mention and those graduating with an evaluation of excellent or very good in their major. Priority has also been given to examining any complaints on the appointment out of turn of those who have lesser evaluations or who do not meet the appointment requirements.

At Cairo University we have 1,588 faculty members [professors], 1,405 assistant professors and 1,719 instructors, excluding the Khartoum branch. In the various sections of higher studies, we have 4,955 students, 2,871 of whom are enrolled for the diploma degree and 1,403 for the M.A. degree.

Moreover, Cairo University has 315 professors loaned to other countries. We also have 255 visiting professors from three countries to assist in teaching.

Dr Hasan Hamdi adds: It is obvious from these figures that we have nearly attained the standard levels agreed on internationally in nine colleges. These are the medical, pharmaceutical, dental, nursing, engineering, archeology, natural science and veterinary colleges.



The performance level rate in these colleges is 1 faculty member for every 10 students at the pharmacology college, 1 faculty member for every 15 students at the dentistry college, 1 faculty member for every 15 students at the Higher Nursing Institute and the same ratio at the colleges of agriculture, engineering veterinary medicine and Qasr al-'Ayni Medical College.

As for the other colleges, namely, those for sciences, information, economy and political science, the performance ratio is 1 faculty member for every 40 students. In the School of Arts and the School of Commerce, the ratio has reached 1 faculty member for every 60 students; at the School of Law it is 1 faculty member for every 100 students.

#### Textbooks and Rosy Statements

[Question] The university textbook is still a problem in all of the universities. At the beginning of each academic year we hear rosy statements about its publication and availability at the right time. We also hear that it will be sold at cost, as well as numerous other promises. But statements are one thing, and reality is another.

[Answer] Dr Hasan Hamdi thinks long before answering: The university textbook is actually a problem that hasn't yet found its ideal solution. But two new elements enter the arena this year to make the solution more easily available and more effective. The reason for the first element is the martyred President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat. One of his magic touches to generate greater progress at the universities lay in his grant of 12 million pounds to subsidize university textbooks. Each university will get a million pounds to develop its printing presses. One million pounds offers the possibility of printing most university textbooks inside the university.

[Question] But who will compel the university professor to have his book printed at the university when that means controls, and controls, to some professors, mean reduced revenues and profits from the textbook?

[Answer] Ultimately, a university professor is a human being, meaning that he too seeks more profit. This is human nature. Well, let him make whatever profits he wishes. This is his right and the fruit of his efforts and sweat over long years. Let the professor assess whatever he wants as a price for his effort and work and I am willing to pay him whatever extra profits he would make if he were to have his book printed outside the university. This is practical thinking. The university will shoulder the difference and I will sell the textbook to the students at cost, plus a symbolic profit margin. When I tell a colleague professor that I will give him his full right, then he will agree. Ultimately, he is a colleague, a brother, a father and a shepherd. Believe me, laws don't solve everything. What can be solved through understanding, friendship, trust and appeal to the spirit of patriotism is many times what can be solved by laws and regulations. I know some professors who already sell their textbooks at cost and who even give books away free of charge. I hope that the law will not be a reference point for everything.

[Question] This concerns textbooks. But what about mimeographed sheets [al-mudhakkarat al-jami'iyah]?

[Answer] This is the other new element to which I have referred. We have purchased a printing [copying] and a photographing machine for each separate college. Now, each college can reproduce its own mimeographed sheets without the need to rely on the private sector and on exploiters.

#### University Guard

[Question] The new factor that has emerged in the life of the universities this year is the university guard. There is more than one question mark raised over the task of this guard.

[Answer] Finally, and after long hardships and requests, the state has agreed to reinstate the university guard, after having abolished it, with its uniform and its distinguishing emblem. The university guard means protection of university installations. What happened in previous years is enough. Can you imagine that when I was the president of Asyut University I was told that a scientific apparatus costing 8,000 pounds and as big as an office had been stolen! Ultimately, the university guard is a measure to safeguard university campuses and to protect them from the intrusion of those who had turned these campuses into their playgrounds.

[Question] But Dr Hasan, there is some fear that the guards will interfere in the male and female students' personal freedom as, for example, when a male and female student are found sitting separately under a tree.

[Answer] No, no. The university guards are not at all entitled to interfere with the students' personal freedom. The controls for any conduct deviating from ethical and academic limits are in the hands of the professors, the advisers and the supervisors.

#### Channels of Expression

[Question] As for advisers, what is the new image of the system of advisers and of families as channels of expression?

[Answer] In the applied colleges, there is a faculty member who acts as an adviser and who is aided by an assistant professor or an instructor for every 50 students. In the theoretical colleges, the professor is aided by an assistant professor or an instructor for every 200 students. These assistants are the educational advisers.

The adviser must meet with his students once a week to discuss their problems, including their general problems and their political questions. The adviser transmits the daily and financial problems to the college vice chairman for student affairs and then to the dean for immediate solution.

The advisers for the six activities of the student union and the youth welfare supervisors at the colleges have been given the necessary resources. Say on my behalf that all of the student activities will be fully restored and that we will watch all this very carefully. The activities include athletic and cultural activities, trips and scout activities.

By the way, Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din has been kind enough to allocate 1 million pounds to bolster the unions at all of the universities. Moreover, we have abolished the social investigation that was required of the students when applying for social aid. Now a paper from the student adviser is enough for the aid money, which may amount to 100 pounds, to be disbursed or for a pair of spectacles, a wheelchair or a motorbike to be supplied to disabled students.

#### Problems of University Towns

[Question] But what about university towns?

[Answer] There are 130,000 male and female students in Cairo University. The university towns absorb nearly 25,000 male and female students. The absorption rate for female students from out of town is 100 percent. But what is new this year insofar as the university towns are concerned is that their acceptance criterion is not just passing courses any more but also the student's conduct, seriousness and discipline and his not having any previous record of violations, in addition to academic excellence.

For your information, there is no country in the world that provides residence in university towns at the symbolic prices that we charge. A student in Egypt pays 5 pounds monthly for full residential accommodation, whereas the cost of feeding him alone is 60-70 pounds. In the communist countries, a student pays 50 percent of the residential costs. Our state has allocated 30 million pounds in subsidies for the university towns, which accommodate 44,000 male and female students.

The state has also allocated the money needed to prepare 3 million hot meals for students living outside the university towns.

A final point that Dr Hasan Hamdi was eager to stress very strongly is that the new academic year for Cairo University and for all the other universities is the year of 100 percent discipline and of regular studies from the first day to the last. Let it be understood that the university is for learning and teaching and that the policy, the entire policy, is for the absorption of education because this means real progress and development that enable us to catch up with the bandwagon of civilization in its broadest sense. The entire world is developing. Any student who swerves from sound university practice and from the rules of discipline will find all paths barred to him. The true seeker of learning has all of the university's resources. Our task is to facilitate the means for the student to surmount all difficulties, be they educational, material, cultural or recreational.

#### Return of Activities and Full Welfare

We also had an interview with Professor 'Abd al-Latif Mustafa 'Abdallah, director of Cairo University Youth Welfare, on the care given by the university to its students, and he said:

Youthcare is provided by a specialized agency divided into a central department and branch departments in every college. The task of this agency is to draw up

a complete plan to insure comforts for the students and to enable them to fill their free time.

In athletics, every student is entitled to engage in the activity he wants. We offer him all the necessary facilities, including specialized coaches, clothing and food.

As for students with cultural and art hobbies, we prepare for them a year-long program providing for acting and musical groups and expressionist art groups. This is not all. In social activity, trips will be organized, student families will be formed and recreational camps and social contests will be conducted.

The Social Solidarity Fund will offer aid and services to all university students to pay university fees and residential fees and to purchase books and clothes. The fund will also help house students and advance other forms of aid needed by the students to continue their studies.

The state has allocated 190,000 pounds as a first installment for Cairo University students. The sum will be distributed to the students without asking them to present certificates on their condition, as was formerly the case.

The university town will offer cold meals to nonresident students at a symbolic price not exceeding 7 piasters per meal. Clothes will also be sold by the Saydawnawi project at prices affordable by all students. For example, the price of a complete suit will not exceed 10.5 pounds.

The university has also been supplied with more cafeteria services and strict control will be exercised over the cafeterias while offering their services to the students.

The youth welfare director added that the student unions will be formed in the second half of November and that the student by-laws will be applied to them under the supervision of college deans.

No permits will be given for hosting singing and musical groups from outside the university. The students themselves will perform such recreational activities. If a public intellectual or journalistic personality is invited, this will be done with the advance permission of the dean of the college that hosts such a personality.

#### University Loans

On the other hand, Nasir Bank has allocated 1.75 million pounds for student loans.

Hasan Qarni, manager of the bank's 'Ayn Shams University branch, has said:

So far, 80 percent of the loan forms have been distributed to the colleges and institutes and the rest are being delivered. The Higher Loaning Committee will meet to approve the sums allocated for loans to the various colleges and institutes. The disbursement of loans will then begin. Loans will not be less than 25 pounds for a student in the theoretical colleges and 35 pounds for a student in the applied colleges. The student will not have to repay the loan until after he completes



his university studies and his conscription period. When appointed to a job, he will start repaying the loan in easy installments and without interest.

Hasan Qarni added: There will be fewer problems this year. Last year, the main office did all the work. This was exhausting to both the students and the employees. This year, administrative offices will be formed at the universities to perform the loan procedures and to determine the student's financial status. Ultimately this organization will make the process of borrowing easier for the students.

There will also be branch offices in the provinces to carry out the same work as the head office. However, the real problem continues to be the fact that repayment must be made at the head office even though the loan is acquired from a provincial office. This means the decentralization of loans and the centralization of repayment. This is an issue we will examine seriously, especially since the number of students acquiring loans from 1961 to 1981 has reached 1.25 million.

But how can it be determined if a student needs the loan?

Nadiyah Faraj, a statistician at one of the colleges, says: Every regular student is entitled to acquire a loan, provided he submits an official document on his family income. If the income is less than 10 pounds [monthly], then the student is immediately entitled to a loan without the need for further documentation. But if the income is higher, then the student has to undergo a social investigation. The truth, says Nadiyah Faraj, is that we have instructions not to tire the students with social investigations and bureaucratic procedures. This is why we do not resort to social investigations unless they are necessary. Insofar as the provinces are concerned, the statement of income or the student's report on his financial status is enough.

In addition to the Nasir Bank loan, there is the social solidarity fund which is controlled by each college independently. Dr Ramzi al-Sha'ir, fund chairman at the 'Ayn Shams School of Law, says: The fund's task is to try to eliminate the hardships that face the students in their academic life. This is done as if it is a family matter that does not go beyond the bounds of the college concerned. We are eager to make the fund's aid in-kind and not cash aid, such as paying a student's college fees and his fees to the college town or purchasing books, the Saydanawi card or bus coupons. At times, helpful equipment is given to disabled students, such as wheelchairs or hearing aids. We try to steer clear of the bureaucratic course so that matters can be handled as if they were family matters. For example, aid advanced to students last year in case of the death of a father amounted to 50 pounds. Ultimately, the college is the student's home and the student's professors are his brothers to whom he can turn in a time of need.

At 'Ayn Shams University

At 'Ayn Shams University, regular studies were begun in all colleges as of the first academic day and there was obvious seriousness on the part of the students in attending the lectures. The university printing press was given 1 million pounds to begin printing textbooks written by faculty members and to sell them to the students at cost. The university has also devised six bus lines to transport the students from the main squares to the university in return for a symbolic

fee. Zakariya al-'Arif, general controller of youth welfare, says: We have drawn up a year-long program for student activities. We have also supplied the necessary requirements, including athletic fields and halls and the items needed for scouts and art and cultural activities.

Siham Khayr al-Din, from the Social Activity Secretariat, says: The producing students project seeks to develop and polish the hobbies of male and female students in a way that helps them fill their free time and gives them financial profit at the same time. In addition to sewing and embroidery projects for female students, there is vocational training for students in welding, electricity and engraving.

Sa'd Mash'al, director of art activity, says that art training centers have been prepared to receive those students wishing to engage in such activity so that they can take part in the contests that will be held, namely, the self-sufficiency contest and the main acting contest. In this regard, participating students will visit the (Pinali) Exhibit in Alexandria and will view scientific, cultural and social films now that we have bought a new projector.

Rasmi 'Abd al-Malik, controller of the activities of student families, says: Family activity in the university includes four main families: the Red Crescent Family, the Tourist's Friends Family, the Conservation of Nature's Beauty Family and the Art Lovers Family.

A plan has been drawn up to celebrate the national holidays in a way that permits the student to become acquainted with the nature of these holidays.

The university town has already received 1,848 male students and 1,070 female students, an increase of 20 percent over last year, because new housing units have been added to it.

Husayn 'Awad Muhammad, general director of university towns, says: We have introduced new furnishings, such as bunk beds, to absorb a larger number of students. Solar heaters will be tested at the female students' university town. The problems of residence and of food have been eliminated and we will see considerable improvement in the quality and quantity of food served. As for nonresident students, they will be offered a cold meal at a cost of no more than 5 piasters.

#### Ninety Percent of Students Have Joined Classes and Have Been Disciplined

Maj Gen 'Izz al-Din 'Abd al-'Aziz, commander of the university guard, says:

Reinstatement of the university guard came at the request of the university presidents in the wake of the undisciplined period witnessed by university halls, a period during which the guard was sorely needed.

The guard stresses and insures discipline and orderliness inside the university to give the students a chance to continue their education in the right atmosphere.

Discipline is embodied in the use of (identity cards) for entrance to the colleges in ordinary clothes.



Entry is denied when baggy pants or jilbabs [also jallabiyas, flowing outer gowns] are worn.

University guards are the friends of the university family because they help it solve its problems, whether they are problems inside the university or problems connected with the university outfits.

The guards take into consideration the students' proposals for underlining security and for enhancing athletic activities and present these proposals to university presidents and college deans.

The role of the guard inside the university is also embodied in safeguarding and protecting the auditoriums, the laboratories and the buildings from tampering and sabotage so as to insure uninterrupted studies.

In every college, the office of the university guard chief is in direct contact with the college.

Legal channels are followed in punishing those who violate discipline. The punishing authority is the disciplinary council that is formed by the college dean, the college deputy director and the most senior member of the college council. The decision made by the disciplinary council may be contested only by a written appeal submitted by the student to the university president within 15 days of being notified of the decision.

University law bans the carrying of firearms and whoever violates this law will be subject to its provisions.

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## ECONOMIC LEGAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING CRISIS EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 11 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Jamil George: "Issue Presented by President Husni Mubarak for Discussion: Search for Apartments; Deputy Chairman of National Investment Bank: We Have 128,000 Vacant Residences; 5 Billion Pounds Required To Build 675,000 Housing Units; Problem Does Not Lie in Providing Housing; This Is Sound Solution; Judiciary Men: Loopholes in Housing Law Are Cause of Crisis; Landlord's Right To Demolish Old Property Conditionally; Rent Assessment Committees Are Compulsory"]

[Text] In his speech to the nation, President Husni Mubarak presented a number of issues so that every person with an opinion can contribute to solving them. The issue of housing has taken top place in the president's awareness of the deputy of this issue, whose impact affects the future of the youth and their hopes of forming a happy family. The youth are quickly confronted with the problems of having to make astronomical down payments or (housing payments) they cannot afford, unless a fortune drops on them from heaven in one form or another. However, they cannot make such payments if they are employees. AL-AKHBAR has conducted a study of the economic and legal aspects of the issue. The surprise revealed by the official state data is that there are available 128,000 vacant units whose owners are keeping them [vacant] for one reason or another at a time when voices are raised to demand a dwelling because their houses are collapsing. AL-AKHBAR has also revealed the presence of loopholes in the latest housing law that do not encourage the private sector to invest in building and renting houses without key money [khuluwat].

The housing problem is not one of Egypt alone but of all developing countries. But our problem has become entangled and its elements have accumulated with the passage of the years. This was exacerbated by the meager appropriations that the state used to allocate for housing and, at the same time, by the disinclination of land owners to build on their lands due to the unprofitability of housing and due to the successive reductions [in house rents] adopted by the state. This is in addition to the fact that the owners of existing buildings have stopped maintaining them and have come to hope that the buildings would soon collapse.

The serious thing is that decisions have been issued to demolish a number of houses, but the occupants put their life at the mercy of fate and refuse to evacuate the houses for fear of facing the prospect of having to live in the open.

What is more serious is that some landlords are building atop their old buildings without any consideration for the old foundations or for the weakness of the soil. They are doing this with the hope of realizing greater income to compensate for the low rent they collect for the lower floors of their buildings. The ominous end is the complete collapse of the building.

#### 1 Billion Pounds Annually Is Impossible.

We have had this interview with Dr Sa'd al-Din al-Hanafi, the minister in charge of planning and deputy chairman of the National Investment Bank, who has said.

The National Housing Committee has estimated the number of housing units needed in the years 1981-85 alone at 675,000 units of various sizes. The financial appropriations needed to build them are estimated at 5 billion pounds, 4 billion of which are for construction and building and 1 billion for preparing the sites and supplying them with utilities. It is obvious from this that the state is required to allocate 1 billion pounds annually for housing.

#### Priority for Economy Housing

The National Housing Committee has based its estimates regarding these needs on the national plan for the year 2000 and on the basis of statistics and of the current prices, assuming that the construction and building agencies are capable of fulfilling the requirements needed to implement the plan. Consideration has also been given to the fact that 10 percent of the needed units are above the middle-level range, meaning that the unit area ranges from 100-120 meters, that 55 percent of the units are for economy housing, with the area of the unit ranging from 45-50 square meters, and that the remaining 35 percent is for middle-level housing, with the area of the unit ranging from 70-80 square meters.

#### A Total of 128,000 Vacant Units

But where can the state find 1 billion pounds annually to allocate for housing? If this is realized, and it is possible, then its impact will be reflected on the other production and service projects. I would like to point out as an official that the number of existing buildings is 1.58 million containing 3,587,000 housing units. Residential units represent 94.5 percent of the total number and business, economic and social units represent 2.1 percent. The remaining part, amounting to 3.4 percent, or 128,000 units, is kept vacant by the owners for one reason or another. The presence of this large number of vacant housing units represents an abnormal phenomenon that is incompatible with the dimensions of the crisis and at a time when 1 million families are looking for a dwelling.

#### Income Standard Is Basis for Solving Problem

One of the main reasons for the presence of this enormous number of vacant units is the exploitation by the private sector and its excessive rents and sale prices through which the sector hopes to realize bigger profits or to keep the units vacant until they are needed in the future by a family member. It is evident from this that the availability of housing units will not end the problem. The matter is connected primarily with the family income level and its ability to save.

The lowest-level housing is still far beyond the reach of the overwhelming working majority. How can an employee pay a monthly rent of 45 pounds for two (bedrooms) and a livingroom (with an area of 60 square meters)? The cost of owning such a unit is 8,000 pounds, provided that 3,000 pounds is paid in advance and the rest over a period of 15 years.

#### State Wage Structure Reversed

Dr Sa'd al-Hanafi has also said: The wage structure has changed recently. Whereas the incomes of government and public sector workers used to form a record indicator exceeding the level of the private sector, the situation is now reversed. Therefore, to solve the housing problem in the future it is necessary to achieve a social justice that seeks to raise the level of the low incomes that are incapable of meeting housing needs and to spread saving awareness and enhance rates of savings to provide the element of financing necessary to solve the housing problem. This is in addition to seeking as much as possible the positive help of the cooperative and private sector and to developing the construction capability of private sector contractors.

#### Means To Improve Workers' Incomes

Regarding ways to improve citizens' incomes, Dr Sa'd al-Din al-Hanafi has said that there are several, including:

Increasing the opportunities for tying income to production for those factions with an income [words dropped] while channeling surplus labor to more productive spheres bringing higher incomes. This is in addition to enhancing the production profits of small farmers through agricultural guidance, by supplying them with production requirements and with the loans they need and by setting fair prices for their crops.

Creating channels for savings to be used for housing.

#### Three Income Levels

It is indubitable that housing studies require knowledge of society's income levels as a source for solving housing problems. It has been possible to divide the income of [Egyptian] families into three categories:

1. The first category, with a high income, represents 20 percent of the urban population. The average monthly income of a family in this category is 239 pounds and it can allocate 60 pounds [monthly] for housing.
2. The second category, with a middle income, represents 30 percent of the population. The average monthly income of a family in this category is 130 pounds and it can allocate 32 pounds for housing.
3. The third category, with a low income, represents an estimated 50 percent of the urban population. This category has been divided into two segments. The first, comprising 70 percent of the category, has an average monthly income of 80 pounds and can allocate 22 pounds for housing; the second, comprising 30 percent of the category, has an average monthly income of 48 pounds.

From this review, we find that the first and second categories can afford the rent or the monthly payment for house ownership easily if they (allocate) a quarter of their income for that purpose. Moreover, these categories can be given soft-term loans for this purpose.

The third category is the category that needs direct state intervention to make it possible to obtain suitably economic housing. This category is divided into two segments and we find that the first segment is comprised of toiling classes that cannot spare any part of their income [for housing]. Therefore, the state, using open land that it owns, can build housing complexes, constructing the skeletal structure of the units and supplying them with utilities. This will cost the state no more than 35 percent of final costs. The purchasing families can then undertake to complete and finish the units through constant saving. The family is thus spared the problems of advance rent money and key money.

As for the second segment of the low-income category, representing 15 percent of the population, the state has to shoulder the full responsibility of supplying it with housing and giving it the ownership of such housing for symbolic prices that do not exceed the cost of maintenance. To provide the financing for this housing, the state must sell its prime lands at high prices and allocate the revenues for this purpose. An example of this is the replacement housing built in 'Ayn Shams after demolition of al-Turjuman shacks.

#### Loopholes in New Housing Law

Regarding the other aspect of the housing crisis, namely, the legal aspect, Counselor Kamal al-Wahsh says: New law No 136 of 1981 contains more than one loophole:

First, it favors the owners of buildings constructed before 9 September 1977 and rented for purposes other than housing by permitting them to raise the rent by 5-30 percent and by denying such raises to the owners of buildings rented for housing. The reverse is supposed to have been done because we are facing a housing crisis and not a problem of office space.

#### Yield Isn't Rewarding

Second, the law stipulates that the investment yield of the building (shall not exceed) 7 percent, whereas the yield from bank savings amounts to 12 percent. This doesn't encourage the citizen to build housing.

Third, a provision must be made to grant the owner the right to demolish a building if it is constructed on a big piece of land where a large number of housing units can be built or if only one workshop, a garage or one or two floors are constructed on the land. The legislator has the power to establish guarantees that give current tenants the right to obtain another apartment or compensation to get such an apartment in another place if the tenant so wishes. In all demolition cases, a condition must be set requiring that at least twice the number of the units demolished be built.



#### Assessment Committees...Guarantee

Fourth, notification of the assessment committees for determination of the rent must be compulsory because rent is related to public order. Moreover, controls must be established for the work of these committees in the interest of both the landlord and the tenant.

Fifth, the state must provide cooperative soft-term loans for the repair and maintenance of buildings because they constitute a national resource.

#### Terminating Contracts of Non-Egyptians

Sixth, the law permits an advance payment of a 24-month rent. This advance should be provided by banks on soft terms because housing is the problem of the needy and not that of the landlord.

Seventh, a provision must be made to end the contracts of non-Egyptian tenants with the end of their residence permits. A non-Egyptian tenant must not be permitted to leave the country before handing over his contract and must not be permitted to sublease or transfer the contract to someone else.

Eighth, the housing law should not be applied to leasing to open-door companies. Rather, the matter should be left to the agreement of the two sides involved.

#### Elimination of Imaginary Cooperatives

This has been an attempt to understand the economic and legal aspects of the housing crisis. As for the social aspect, its impact is well known and it has often led to breaking numerous marriage contracts and has caused numerous problems. The attempt does not end at this point because there is something more serious than all of this, namely, the imaginary cooperative associations that gather millions of pounds, invest them in banks and fail to fulfill their commitments. When disagreement erupts, these associations offer to repay the subscriptions the members have been paying for years! The solution does not end here. The establishment of centers to graduate skilled labor trained in the use of modern construction technology must be expanded, state-owned lands must be priced and set aside for the cooperative associations under the supervision of the state, provided that economic housing is built on them, and no new cities must be built before production projects are built in them and before utilities and means of recreation are extended to them so that they can become centers of attraction for the citizens.

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# FRAUDULENCE, PROBLEMS IN HOUSING COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2446, 9 Sep 81 pp 52-53

[Article by 'Ablah 'Adawi: "What Is Reason and Solution for Fraudulence in Housing Cooperatives; Story of Imaginary Cooperatives That Collect and Do Not Build"]

[Text] Finally, an end will be put to swindling in the name of housing cooperatives and a decisive end will be put to laxity and fraudulence in the housing cooperatives that try to exploit the crisis to conclude imaginary deals and enrich themselves illegally.

The minister of reconstruction and minister of state for housing will issue the comprehensive by-laws that will regulate work in the housing cooperatives and will eliminate all the negative practices that have occurred in recent years and that continue to occur until now in some housing cooperatives.

With these by-laws, which will have the force of law when issued, approved and enacted, there will be no such a thing as an imaginary housing cooperative advertising luxury housing and collecting millions of pounds by exploiting the housing crisis and the masses' hardships.

These cooperatives get customs and tax exemptions, acquire construction materials at symbolic prices and obtain loans at symbolic interest rates under the claim of being housing cooperatives seeking to serve the citizens, offer proper housing at cooperative prices and contribute as much as possible to solving the housing problem from which the entire country suffers.

There will be in the world of housing cooperatives no such a thing as a house on paper or a house in newspaper and magazine advertisements. This means that no cooperative will be able to advertise houses with certain specifications, at certain prices, with a certain advance payment and with a certain delivery date and then, after the citizens make their reservations and pay the advance demanded, put the money in the bank and build nothing.

We will review three specific incidents:

First, a cooperative headquartered in Alexandria--or rather, what is supposed to be a cooperative formed to serve the members of a company headquartered in Alexandria--announced plans to build an [apartment] tower on the Nile in Cairo.

This was supposed to be a cooperative apartment building in which an apartment was to cost 40,000 pounds. Some people with the money to pay the required enormous advance proceeded to make their reservations with the hope of receiving their apartments 2 years after the reservation date, as the advertisement had asserted. This incident occurred 4 years ago and at the time these lines were written, construction had not been completed and none of those with reservations had received their apartments. We wish the matter ended at that. Instead, the cooperative has notified the subscribers that in view of rising costs, the price of an apartment will reach 140,000 pounds. The cooperative has done this without any prelude or discussion! Is this imaginable?

The second incident comes from an advertisement published by a large group of housing cooperatives in al-Jizah Governorate announcing the construction of houses for their subscribers and for new members wishing to join them. The advertisement was published 4 years ago and the prices announced at the time were in fact cooperative prices, thus encouraging a large number of citizens to subscribe and to pay the required advance, which did not exceed 3,400 pounds. The project was to be implemented under the governorate's supervision, which further reassured those making reservations. Delivery was to be made within a maximum of 2 years from the date of reservation. The years passed. Instead of 2 years, they became 3 and then 4 and still nobody knows when delivery will be made.

The cooperatives have raised the advance from 3,000 to 5,000 and then to 7,000 pounds and more will follow.

The third incident is that of the Saqr Quraysh Housing Cooperative. The condition of the reserving members who have been waiting for the houses the cooperative announced years ago is one that evokes tears. These people are at a loss and don't know whether the cooperative will fulfill its commitments to build their houses or not. At the same time, they have no confidence in the ability of the cooperative to fulfill its commitments in view of its repeated delays, and neither do they have the courage or the ability to withdraw the advances they have paid and to sacrifice the years of fruitless waiting. They face a riddle they cannot solve.

#### No to Luxury Towers

Now, and with more detail, we will begin the story from the start. We have interviewed Counselor Shams al-Din Khafaji, chairman of the Executive Council of the Cooperative Housing Federation, who said:

The housing cooperatives did not receive adequate services under the terms of the cooperative law. Therefore, another special law on cooperative housing had to be promulgated. So, law No 14 of 1981 was issued. This law provides for the establishment of a cooperative federation to lead the cooperative movement for the construction of housing. To expedite the formation of the federation and to bypass the election process in forming the federation's executive board--a process that was estimated to require 2 years--a decree was issued by the minister concerned with housing appointing the chairman of the federation's executive council and forming the council of 35 members.

Counselor Khafaji went on to add: One of the most important points necessitating the issuance of these by-laws has been the need to avoid or to correct the flaws emerging in the cooperative structure by establishing new supervision by the federation over the cooperatives. Nobody can say that the Public Construction Cooperatives Authority was remiss in its supervision. But government supervision is unable to get at the roots of problems. There has to be a popular supervision authority embodied in the Cooperative Housing Federation. One of the flaws emerging is that of the cooperativetowers [high rises] built recently by the housing cooperatives and about which we have been reading almost daily in the newspapers and magazines. These cooperatives are no more than companies that seek nothing but profit. They operate under the name of cooperatives so as to take advantage of the benefits given by the law to cooperative housing. We find a group of individuals forming among themselves what they call a cooperative, electing a board of directors, acquiring an excellent piece of land in an excellent part of the city and beginning to build a tower on it. As soon as people who are not members of the cooperative read about the tower in the papers, they proceed to make their reservations for a luxury apartment. In this fraudulent manner, the members of the nominal cooperative take advantage of all the benefits granted to the cooperative associations, beginning with loans and customs exemptions for construction requirements and ending with tax exemptions for the profit of the cooperative.

These conditions had to be corrected. Luxury housing is not cooperative housing under any circumstances. The cooperatives have been set up fundamentally to serve people with limited income who need housing and who do not have adequate savings. This is why they have been given 30-year loans at low interest rates not exceeding 3 percent. These loans are advanced by two sources: The Public Housing Cooperative Authority, which has been given this year 300 million pounds for loans, and the Construction and Housing Bank, which has a loan budget of 15 million pounds.

Khafaji added: For your information, the budget [money] for these loans is acquired from the Central Bank at an interest rate of 12 percent. The state shoulders the cost of the difference between the two interest rates. Therefore, it is not fair at all for luxury housing to make use of these loan benefits, of the customs exemptions for construction requirements or of tax exemptions for the profits.

#### Laxity in Cooperatives

These statements led me to ask the chairman of the Executive Council of the Cooperative Housing Federation about the federation's position toward some cooperatives that toy with their members, either by failing to deliver the apartments on schedule or by raising the advance payments and the prices of apartments. I cited to him as an example the three incidents I mentioned at the beginning of this article. He said very simply and frankly: Delayed implementation and, consequently, exposure of the project to increased costs as a result of inflation is due to one of two things: Either negligence by the cooperative's board of directors--and such negligence demands that the board be brought to strict account--or reasons beyond the cooperative's control. These reasons also demand that a search be made for the individual responsible for them and that he be

brought to account. As for the cooperatives that have failed to fulfill their commitments, the members of the Alexandria cooperative building the tower on the Nile, totaling 160 members, have complained to the federation about the cooperative because it has been slow in implementation and because it has raised the price to many times the original price. Moreover, supervision over this project has not been entrusted to an advisory construction engineering firm or a specialized architectural firm but to a company for the construction of prefabricated housing that doesn't have adequate experience in the construction of towers. This has urged the federation to include in the cooperative's by-laws a provision stating that no cooperative member can vote on a project unless he is a beneficiary of that project. It has been customary for boards of directors to get the largest number of a cooperative's members to vote in favor of the board, thus making its decisions valid whether they are in the interest of the people concerned with the project or not.

The said [Alexandria] cooperative had called for a meeting of the general membership to be held this month but the federation has stopped the meeting officially and has postponed it for 4 months until the cooperatives' by-laws are approved and enacted, thus making it possible to bring the cooperative's board of directors to account.

As for al-Jizah Governorate cooperatives whose projects are supervised by the governorate, the fault lies primarily with the governorate because it expropriated land before finding out who the owners were. This led to complications and to delay in implementation.

To put it briefly, procedures that begin correctly will inevitably end correctly.

Counselor Shams al-Din Khafaji added: Generally, the new cooperative housing law has given the Cooperative Housing Federation power to interrogate a cooperative's board of directors if it is proven that it has committed violations. Previously, this power was in the hands of the government. If it is proven that a board of directors has violated the law or the by-laws, then it may be dissolved with the approval of the Cooperative Federation, which then appoints a new provisional board of directors from among the cooperative members for a 2-year term. The Cooperative Federation is also empowered to investigate violations attributed to a cooperative, to make charges against its members and to ask the administrative prosecution to interrogate a violating board of directors.

#### By-Laws and Regulation of Dealings

Engineer Sa'id Hasanayn, deputy chairman of the board of directors of the Public Construction and Housing Cooperatives Authority, defines the most important features of the cooperative housing law, saying: Enactment of this law requires the formulation of new by-laws for the cooperatives, including all the controls concerning ownership and the use of benefits and concerning formation of the cooperatives and their members, procedures for collecting the members' savings and penalties imposed for the failure to implement this law and others.

For a start, the by-laws stipulate that no cooperative may be formed of less than 30 members and with a capital of less than 300 pounds, i.e., at the rate of 1 share valued at 10 pounds for each member. To make membership in the cooperatives



a serious affair, some regulations have been laid down, including the regulation that an applicant for membership in any cooperative must have savings of no less than 200 pounds to be invested as advance payment either for the reservation of housing units or for the purchase of land, depending on the member's needs.

If the savings exceed the advance payments, the cooperative must deposit the savings in banks for the benefit of the cooperative's members and not the benefit of the cooperative itself. In the light of this, it has been decided that a cooperative member will pay an annual fee of 25 pounds, in addition to a monthly fee of no less than 50 piasters, to be used by the cooperative for office rent or for the purchase of fixed assets, such as office desks and so forth. Because the concept of cooperatives has not crystallized among individuals yet, meaning that because the beneficiary member may terminate his relationship with the cooperative as soon as he gets what he wants, it has been decided that the total subscription paid by a member to a cooperative will be no less than 50 pounds if the member gets an economic housing unit, from which subscriptions already spent will be deducted in case a unit is obtained, 100 pounds in case a member gets a middle-level housing unit and 150 pounds in case he gets a plot of land.

Do the by-laws set a maximum period for a cooperative to implement its projects?

If a cooperative initiates a certain project and collects members' savings for the project, then the period between collection of the savings and the start of implementation may not exceed 1 year. If it does, the board of directors is to be brought to account for the delay. Naturally, if we can determine the date of the start of implementation we can easily determine the period needed for completion and, consequently, the date of delivery.

I then asked Eng Fathi Abu al-Ghar, general director of cooperation at the Public Construction and Housing Cooperatives Authority, about the position of the new cooperative housing law on cooperatives that raise the prices agreed on with the members. He says: The fundamental thing about cooperatives is that they are a service and not a commercial business. The actual cost of property purchase or of the construction work may not be increased. But what must be taken into consideration is that the cooperatives have no capital other than the members' savings. If land is purchased in cash, the money needed to pay the original seller is collected from the members. If housing units are built and the cooperative has already acquired loans, then the member has to pay the difference between the actual cost and the value of the land [as published].

Eng Fathi Abu al-Ghar goes on to say: The law also stipulates that a [beneficiary] may not dispose of the property allocated to him to any person other than wife, children or relatives thrice removed before 10 years from the date the property is given to him. The law also prevents a beneficiary member from using the housing unit for any purpose other than his own residence during the first 5 years, after which he may dispose of the unit in accordance with the law.

The law also stipulates that in case a single plot of land is allocated to a member by a cooperative, then the cooperative may not register this plot [presumably in the Land Registry Office] unless a housing unit is built on it. If no construction is carried out in 5 years, the plot will be taken away from the member and reallocated to the most senior member.

## Story of al-Jizah Cooperatives

Because the incident is serious and because the implementation supervisor is al-Jizah Governorate, we had this interview with Salah al-Mi'addawi in al-Jizah Governorate so that he could tell us the story from the start. Salah said: At the beginning of 1978, the governorate thought of helping to solve the housing problem by way of the housing construction cooperatives. An agreement was actually reached with the chairmen of the cooperatives' boards of directors to construct apartment buildings for their members to serve the largest number of members possible, especially since al-Jizah Governorate has no construction lands available. If such lands are found, their prices are high, thus driving up the costs of the units. The governorate then asked the cooperatives to advertise the project and to submit an application to the governor so that the necessary implementation measures could be taken. The cooperatives began to file their applications with the governorate and empowered it to take all measures necessary to implement the project. The number of units reserved at the start of construction was 500. With increased demand, the number of units reserved rose to 4,000 middle-level housing units and 3,000 economy units.

But regrettably, obstacles started to crop up in the face of the project. The first was the unavailability of suitable building lots at moderate prices. It took some time and effort with the agencies concerned to get the right land.

Second, we had to find additional suitable land to meet the increasing demand for the project's units and we got this land from the land reclamation [agency].

All this took time. Moreover, at the outset of the work, we concluded contracts with the [construction] companies at the rate of 64.5 pounds per square meter on the basis of their receiving iron and cement at prevailing prices. But by the start of implementation, prices had risen 40 percent, thus causing costs to rise. Furthermore, the higher committee for assessment of the value of state-owned land estimated the average price of a square meter at 30-35 pounds. As a result, the estimated value of the land needed for a unit rose on the average from 500 pounds to 1,750 pounds because the studies that had been prepared earlier were based on an estimate of 10 pounds per square meter, especially since the land was to be sold to members of cooperatives and was supposed to be sold at cooperative prices.

The project studies had also been based on exempting the cooperatives from paying customs fees for the imported equipment involved in construction of the units. The companies imported all the equipment so as to have the resources for implementation at the right time. But it so happened that the Customs Agency did not approve the exemption, thus raising the cost per unit by 600 pounds. Besides, the difference in [the estimated and actual] soil tension led to an increase in the cost of the foundations constructed for the apartment buildings.

Salah al-Mi'addawi asserts: Despite all this, the costs of a housing unit consisting of two bedrooms and a livingroom (with an area of 110 square meters) will be 11,000 pounds. The cost of units with areas of 128 and 135 square meters will not exceed 15,000 pounds under any circumstances, keeping in mind that the finishing work will be of excellent quality. Generally speaking, 1,008 units will be ready for delivery by the end of this year and 884 units will be delivered by the middle of next year. The governorate is currently studying ways to complete the remaining units on a timely basis.



PUBLIC COMPANY OFFICERS TO BE TRIED FOR MISUSE OF PROPERTY

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 11 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Former Company Chairman and Three Employees Who Exploited Company Resources To Reclaim Their Lands and Build Their Own Houses Are Referred to Court"]

[Text] Counselor Salah al-Rushaydi, the public attorney, has agreed to refer the former chairman of the board of directors of a public sector contracting company and three of the company's high-ranking officers to the disciplinary court. The company chairman exploited the company resources in reclaiming 72 feddans of land that he had purchased in partnership with the three employees in northern al-Tahrir Province. They also built two [private] residences. The costs have been estimated at 50,000 pounds and the company chairman and the three employees have paid them. Thus, it has been decided to be content with referring them to the disciplinary court.

The public property prosecution found that the chairman of the board of directors and two of the company officers had purchased 72 feddans of desert land in northern al-Tahrir Province. On agreement with the fourth officer, they used the company resources, including cranes, bulldozers, vehicles, mixers, lumber, cement and iron, to reclaim and cultivate the land and to install a filter for the benefit of the board chairman and one of his colleagues.

In the investigations conducted by Mahmud 'Abd al-Majid, chairman of public property prosecution, one of the defendants, an engineer at the company, confessed that he had stayed at the site and that he had brought a large number of the company workers to reclaim the land, in agreement with the company officers. He also confessed that he had dug ditches and canals to make the land suitable for cultivation. This is in addition to building two filters of the latest type.

The prosecution ordered that a committee of experts be formed to assess the value of the works. The committee found out that this amounted to 50,000 pounds and that the three officers had purchased the land for 31,000 pounds, of which they had paid 7,825 pounds in down payment. The rest of the purchase value was divided into installments. The defendants have been compelled to repay the costs determined by the committee, and the general prosecutor has agreed to refer them to the court.

BILLS TO PROTECT FARMLAND, SPUR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION BEING CONSIDERED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 17 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by Muhammad Hasan al-Banna: "Six-Month Prison Term and Fine of 1,000 Pounds for Scraping Off Top Soil From 1 Feddan of Land; Special Police Agency To Apprehend Violators"]

[Text] Strict measures have been initiated to protect farmland. A bill has been prepared providing for a 1-year prison term and a fine of 10,000 pounds for transgressions against farmland and for using such land for construction operations or for setting up brick plants. The bill also provides for a 6-month prison term and a fine of no less than 1,000 pounds for scraping off top soil from farmlands. A tenant will be evicted if he leaves the land uncultivated for 1 year. The bill also calls for the establishment of a special police agency to protect farmland from any encroachment.

Power Lies With Governor

The bill, which will be reviewed this morning by the legislative section of the State Council under the chairmanship of Counselor Mustafa Kamal Ibrahim, calls for giving governors the power to grant licenses for scraping off soil from farmlands in accordance with the conditions and controls established by the Ministry of Agriculture. The bill also stipulates that violations committed against farmland be punished by a prison term of no less than 6 months and a fine of no less than 1,000 pounds and no more than 2,000 pounds. If the violation is committed by a tenant, he must be evicted and the land must be returned to the owner, while reserving his right to compensation. Whoever transports, purchases or uses farmland soil for any purpose while being aware of the occurrence of soil scraping activities shall be considered a violator.

Violations of Land Owners

If the violator is the land owner, the penalty will be a prison term of 1 year and a fine of 3,000 pounds for every feddan, along with confiscation of the equipment and machinery used in the scraping operations.

The bill also calls for punishing whoever leaves an area uncultivated with the purpose of (fencing) it with a fine of 500 pounds for every feddan or part of the land. If the violator is the land owner, the bill calls for the cooperative concerned to cultivate the land at the expense of the owner in return for 10 percent of its net annual profit. If the violator is a tenant, his lease is

to be terminated and the land is to be returned to the owner. Moreover, implementation of the penalty is not to be terminated.

#### Building on Farmland

The bill also calls for punishing whoever builds on farmland without a permit with a prison term of no less than 6 months and a fine of 2,000 pounds for every feddan and for eliminating the causes of the violation. Anyone who sets up new red brick plants on farmland is to be punished by a prison term of no less than 1 year and a fine of no less than 5,000 pounds and no more than 10,000 pounds, along with elimination of the plant at the expense of the violator.

#### Special Police Agency

The bill also provides for setting up within the Ministry of Interior a special police agency to protect farmland from encroachment. The task of this agency will be to prevent violations and apprehend violators and carry out administrative decisions and orders to eliminate the transgressions and stop the violations through administrative channels. The prime minister will issue a decree forming the new agency on agreement between the Ministries of Interior and Agriculture. City and village council chairmen, village mayors and security chiefs and agricultural guides will be responsible for implementing the provisions of this bill.

The bill also decides to set up a fund to improve the protection of farmland, to restore fertility to stripped farmlands and to finance projects leading to increased agricultural production.

#### Amendments on Housing and Construction Law

Al-AKHBAR has also learned that the legislative section will discuss at the same meeting the new amendments introduced for the housing regulations. The most important of these amendments is that calling for the General Construction and Housing Cooperatives Authority to increase the soft-term loans it advances to the construction and housing cooperatives and to individuals wishing to invest in construction from 5,000 pounds to 5,500 pounds for economy housing and to 800 pounds [as published] for middle-level and above middle-level housing. This is to be done with the aim of constructing buildings set aside for housing of all levels, excluding luxury housing, and the aim of building on top, completing or enlarging existing buildings. The amendments also set the loan rules and percentages for the various levels of housing, with special benefits for housing in new societies and cities. The bill also empowers the minister of housing to exclude certain loans from certain restrictions if they are allocated for residential areas in the new societies, development areas or certain governorates with special characteristics or if the loans are advanced to certain construction and housing cooperatives whose members are tied by a work or professional bond, provided that they include no less than 100 members and the loan is used for constructing apartment buildings whose units are distributed to the members of the cooperative.

The amendments also stipulate that the value of a piece of land allocated by the government or by local government units for luxury housing be set at the highest prices brought about in public action.

KHAMENE'I DISCUSSES BUDGET, IRAQ, ISLAMIC ASSOCIATIONS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 3 Jan 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday afternoon in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY (IRNA), Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi-Khamene'i stated his views and perspectives on economic problems, the national budget and the Islamic associations.

In answer to the question as to whether the government will submit the 1982 budget bill to the Majlis in Bahman [January 21-February 19], the prime minister said: "Yes, with the perserverence of the cabinet and the Economic Council of the plan and budget organization, God willing, for the first time in the history of our revolution the government will submit this bill to the Majlis in Bahman and in the weeks ahead the government and the Economic Council will condense the numerous programs."

The prime minister added: "The good news should also be given that in next year's budget we will witness new changes in the control and operation of industries and major projects."

In answer to the question as to whether control over foreign exchange and its allocation will continue, Mr Musavi said: "The allocation of foreign exchange, on which out of necessity the Economic Council started to work boldly, has not been expanded. With the experience of the past 2 months the combining of this experience, for the first time in the history of our own budget writing and planning we are moving ahead toward precise planning and, certainly, this task will help us to reduce our dependence on outsiders. We can also prevent the excessive importation of unnecessary goods into our country and bring about the growth and burgeoning of our industry."

He further stated: "The experience of the past 2 months has indeed been jostling for us. For example, one of the items whose importation has been restrained is 700,000 undershirts for one of the institutions. We are certain that our perserverence in this direction will help change the pattern of consumption and while providing us with a healthier economy, it would affect the growth of our industries and would have a very deep psychological impact on our society."

The prime minister was asked: "The Government of Iraq, in a letter to the UN Secretary General, has reiterated its prior claims regarding the execution of Iraqi prisoners. What are your views?"



The prime minister replied: "The falsehood of this has by now been made clear and the people of the world realize why Iraq brought it up. In any case, we want to do something unprecedented. I officially invite the parents of these Iraqi prisoners to Iran for the 11 February ceremonies commemorating the revolution so that they can visit their sons. We would welcome them but I am not sure that the Iraqi regime will allow this humane act."

The prime minister answered this question from the IRNA reporter: "What are your views on the recent statements by the Imam of the Nation concerning the Islamic associations?" by saying: "The Islamic associations, which are the couriers of the revolution in government agencies and other institutions, have been able to generate fundamental changes in the work environment through their Islamic confrontation with the problems. If the Islamic associations want to maintain this role, they must earnestly refrain from meddling in matters of management."

Mr Musavi added: "The statements of the Imam of the Nation will serve to further bolster and strengthen the Islamic associations and, for this reason, it will result in the elimination of any excuses for crushing the Islamic institutions."

The prime minister continued: "It is my belief that tempters exist in the system who, on the one hand, are trying, through an Islamic facade and improper meddling in the work of elected government officials, to create hinderances in the work of these officials and trying to disgrace the Islamic associations. And there are unassuming people who can be drawn under the influence of these tempters. For example, the president of the university of a certain city was replaced because of discord and a group has been insisting for months in the name of Islam that the new president is thus and so. Although these gentlemen talked with top-level government officials and have not been able to satisfy them, they still create a new problem every day. In my opinion, this method is an anti-Islamic act and against Holy Law. In any case, I am sure that those faithful to the Islamic revolution in this dear, revolutionary institution will follow the commands of the Imam and will use these commands as the true criteria for discerning people's honesty.

"Certainly, just as the Imam of the Nation has said, 'If there is any complaint about an official or a flaw is detected in him, nowadays that law rules over the land, he should be turned over to the authorities.'"

The prime minister continued: "At a suitable opportunity I will talk about the services of the Islamic associations and the dangers that can threaten this institution. Suffice it to say here that the government's policy has always been one of support for revolutionary organs and it has up to now pursued this policy in a clear-cut and active manner."

CSO: 4640/134



BRIEFS

TABRIZ-JULFA RAILWAY ELECTRIFIED--As reported by the radio station "Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran," the railway connecting the towns of Tabriz and Julfa has been electrified. This is the first electrified railway in Iran. The work on this line was completed with the active participation of Soviet specialists. In keeping with the contract concluded between the Iranian Railroad Directorate and the Soviet All-Union Combine "TEKHSTROYEKSPORT," several score of Iranian specialists have been sent to the Soviet Union for on-the-job training. [Text] [Moscow GUDOK in Russian 19 Jan 82 p 3]

CSO: 1829/104

PAPER URGES KURDS TO INTENSIFY STRUGGLE IN IRAN

JN041030 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0390 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Baghdad, 4 Jan (INA)--The newspaper AL-'IRAQ has called on the Kurds in Iran to intensify their struggle to obtain their democratic, national and patriotic rights which were disavowed by the Tehran rulers.

In an editorial today, the newspaper, organ of the Progressive Kurds, said that racist Khomeyni regime's savage attacks against the Kurds and the disavowal of the basic legitimate rights of the non-Persian communities make it incumbent upon the Kurds to intensify blows against the regime and continue to fight it until it yields to the just demands of the Kurdish people in Iran.

The newspaper stressed that Iraq's just battle against the racist Persians supports and strengthen the Kurdish armed struggle movement in Iran's Kordestan as well as the struggle of all non-Persian communities against the regime.

The newspaper ridiculed the Khomeyni regime's claims that the Kurds in Iraq are not with the revolution and said: The Kurds in Iraq enjoy the large accomplishments achieved by the Ba'th revolution in Iraq and adhere to autonomy and will defend it until the last drop of blood is spilled. It added that the Kurds in Iraq are also enthusiastically taking part in Iraq's just war against the backward chauvinist regime in Iran.

CSO: 4404/222

DEPUTY OIL MINISTER INTERVIEWED

Paris AN-NAHAR ALAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 52, 28 Dec 81 pp 6-8

[Interview with Abdel Moneim Samarraï, deputy oil minister, by Randa Takieddine; date and place not specified]

[Text]

Iraq rarely reveals information about its oil industry and usually says even less about plans and policies, so an exclusive interview with Iraq's Deputy Oil Minister Abdel Moneim Samarraï with *An Nahar Arab Report & MEMO's* Randa Takieddine is doubly welcome. Mr Samarraï covers a wide range of issues, including the impact of the Gulf war and his country's future plans to develop gas resources for local use. The interview follows:

Q: What is Iraq's current oil production ?

A: Around one million b/d.

Q: What is the current level of exports ?

A: Around 600,000 b/d.

Q: Is there any new agreement with Syria and Lebanon concerning transit rights that you will pay them for the Iraqi crude which is to reach Tripoli ? If so, when will it be implemented ?

A: We have an agreement that was signed on February 9, 1979 concerning this matter and both Syria and Iraq are bound by the articles of this agreement.

Q: But you have had problems with Syria asking for higher transit rights on crude from Iraq coming through Syrian territory.

A: No, there has been no problem between the two countries. Both sides have abided by the articles of this agreement. Iraq in particular has respected the agreement throughout the period and has continued pumping Iraqi crude through Syria at the minimum capacity of nine million tons. What has occurred now is an agreement with Syria and Lebanon to use the port of Tripoli again. In our opinion, the situation in 1979 did not al-

low the use of that port for exports. Now the situation is relatively calmer and both we and our Lebanese brothers agree that we can again use the port of Tripoli. This is why we started a dialogue with our Syrian and Lebanese brothers to use the pipeline of Tripoli passing through Syria as well as to use the port of Tripoli. The agreement remains that of February 1979 which lasts until 1999.

Q: What are the transit rights that you pay according to this agreement ?

A: They are guaranteed for both sides. Negotiations are supposed to take place every five years. In fact, since it is a ten-year agreement, we will negotiate once at the end of 1983.

Q: But what is the exact amount you will pay for transit rights ?

A: This will depend on the amount of oil we will be pumping. As you know, the amounts that are pumped increase and decrease depending on market conditions.

Q: How much do you pump through Syria ?

A: The pumping of Iraqi crude through Syria has not stopped at all since 1979, but now it will increase to something like 200,000 b/d.

Q: When do you expect Iraqi crude to reach Lebanon ?

A: From the beginning of next year (1982).

Q: How would you estimate the damage to your oil

facilities caused by the Iran-Iraq war?

A: The damage has been extensive. Our exports from Gulf terminals have been interrupted. Our oil installations have been extensively damaged, especially our ports like Basra and Khor al-Amaya. Many refineries have been damaged and their output halted by enemy attacks. Oil installations, oil fields and tanks near the border have also been hit.

Q: How would you assess these losses in concrete terms?

A: They are huge, but as an engineer I cannot give you a precise figure for the damage. We have not had a chance to examine many of the installations, especially the ports, that have been hit in order to determine the amount of the losses.

Q: Iraq wishes to have a pipeline to carry its crude to Yanbu in Saudi Arabia. Have you actually signed any agreement with Saudi Arabia to start implementing this project?

A: We have not signed an agreement. It is only at a preliminary stage, but we hope to reach an agreement for this purpose with our Saudi brothers. The (annual) capacity of this pipeline would be 40 million tons. Our aim in this project is not to divert Iraqi crude to Saudi Arabia away from the countries through which it currently passes. We wish only to have a new terminal through an Arab brother country in a relatively secure situation. I want to make it clear here that the project to install a pipeline passing through Saudi Arabia will not mean that Arab or non-Arab countries which currently get revenues from Iraqi crude transiting through their pipelines will incur losses as a result. This is because Iraq is planning to increase its production and exports - hence the creation of a new terminal will enable us to increase our exports.

Q: When do you expect negotiations to achieve concrete results?

A: We are in constant contact with our Saudi brothers on this matter and we hope they will reach an agreement with us as soon as possible.

Q: Which companies are you mainly working with on exploration?

A: The role of foreign companies exploring in Iraq is that of contractors concerned with the interpretation of geological information on immense fields. We use their technology in the interpretation of this geological information, but most of the exploration, at least 90 per cent, is done by Iraqi experts. For the rest we use European companies from East and West Europe.

Q: Have you had problems with your oil sales arising from the existing surplus in the market?

A: The existing oil surplus undoubtedly affects oil prices directly. We believe that this surplus should disappear to reinstate balanced oil prices at their real value. On the other hand, Iraq is not facing problems in marketing its oil because of our good relations with many countries from which we import a lot of goods. We import equipment, food and many goods needed for development purposes, so our commercial relations with these countries we import from are certainly linked to the marketing of our oil. Furthermore, our excellent political relations with some of these consumer countries enable us to sell our oil without any problems.

Q: For some time after your exports were halted at the start of the Iran-Iraq war, some of the consumer countries which had been buying Iraqi oil were supplied by Saudi Arabia and other Arab OPEC countries on the basis of what were known as "war relief contracts" which were short-term contracts. I know these contracts are no longer needed, but how much are you now selling to these countries, such as France, which are importers of Iraqi crude?

A: Because of our good relations with and loyalty to some friendly nations which import Iraqi crude and which backed Iraq at certain stages, such as France, Yugoslavia and Italy, we contacted our brothers among the Arab oil-producing countries at the beginning of the war asking them to secure oil supplies for some of our clients in these countries to compensate for the interruption in our exports. As you know, at the beginning of the war we stopped our oil production and exports for military reasons. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the UAE secured oil supplies for our clients for some time until we were able to resume exports. These war relief contracts are no longer in force because the consuming countries do not have the same need for oil imports and because we have resumed our exports to them.

Q: How much are you now selling to France?

A: French oil imports dropped by the same percentage as the drop in Iraqi exports.

Q: Exactly how much oil is France actually buying from Iraq now?

A: We have a lot of contracts with various French companies. I am not personally aware of the details of these contracts. All I can tell you is that our oil cooperation with France is excellent.

Q: Are you intending and do you have the capacity to boost your oil production?

A: Yes, we definitely have the capacity to boost our oil production.

Q: To what level?

A: Our oil fields and installations enable us to export 3.5 million b/d, the same average we had before the Iraq-Iran war. We have an initial plan to boost our production but this is mainly linked to the production possibilities of our fields. We have not yet determined precisely the production potential of many of our fields because this needs a long time. I can tell you, however, that we do have plans to increase our production in stages. As for the levels and timing of this planned increase, I cannot give a figure before having enough information on the capacity of our fields. This information is constantly being studied and reviewed.

Q: In the short run what level are you planning to increase your exports to?

A: For the time being we will concentrate on increasing our exports to their pre-war levels. In fact, we have no immediate plans to increase our exports until we have reached the level of exports which we had before the war.

Q: What about gas production prospects in Iraq?

A: Our policy concerning gas is now clear. We have realised that we are probably the only Arab oil producer which has been slow to develop its gas potential. That is why we now have a crash programme for the utilisation of associated gas. We have 41 projects in Iraq for this purpose. We have no intention of exporting natural gas, be it LNG, methanol, synthetic gasoline or any other converted product. We plan to use natural gas only inside the country first and for petrochemical purposes second.

Q: What is your current internal consumption of gas?

A: Unfortunately, 30 per cent. Our target is to increase it considerably.

Q: What is Iraq doing to develop its downstream activities?

A: We have one major project in downstream activities: a 200,000 b/d export refinery in the southern part of Iraq which is now in the basic engineering stage. We think that by the middle of next year we will complete the preliminary engineering studies in order to invite contractors. It will take about three years or maybe up to 40 months to reach completion and would process three

types of crude: Basra light, medium and heavy. This is the main project. We are revamping our existing refineries, but an increase in capacity is expected only at an export refinery near Basra. The other huge project we have is a plant to produce 250,000 tons a year of motor lubricating oil. This project is being implemented in the northern part of the country.

Q: What is your internal consumption of refined products?

A: 350,000 b/d. We are heavy importers now because of the damage caused to the Basra refinery.

Q: What quantity of refined products did you import before the war with Iran?

A: We used to import about 100,000 tons of gas oil. Now we import a lot more because it is directly linked with our war effort.

Q: Do you intend to go back to the previous level of internal consumption?

A: I think internal consumption will either flatten out or even go down a little. 1979, 1980, 1981 and maybe a great part of 1982 are years devoted to the implementation of a huge development plan covering in particular infrastructure projects such as expressways, railways, dams and other construction projects. While these projects are being implemented the country is in great need of refined products. The demand will be reduced once the huge projects are executed and internal consumption will then flatten out.

Q: OAPEC is sponsoring a joint project to build a detergent chemicals plant in Iraq and Apicorp (OAPEC's jointly-owned energy investment company) is involved in financing this. What stage has the project reached?

A: Indeed this is a big joint project and it is very important that Apicorp is taking part in it. In the past Apicorp has unfortunately limited itself to giving loans to finance projects, but it is participating directly in this project. The project is now in the preliminary planning stages. We have signed a contract with a company that specialises in chemical detergents production. The company is now participating in the elaboration of engineering studies for the project and we hope that these will be completed within four months. After that we will consider offers for the implementation of the project. Under the agreement signed between Iraq and Apicorp, each will have 25 per cent of the company's shares. The remaining 50 per cent will be open to offers from any Arab countries and Arab detergent companies. If no Arab country is interested there is a provision that the remainder will be divided equally between Iraq and Apicorp because it is a very rewarding and important project from the economic point of view.



## BRIEFS

NEW OIL FIELDS--Iraq is planning to develop five new giant oil fields that could enable the country to increase its production capacity by two million b/d, according to a report by the authoritative Middle East Economic Survey (MEES). The report was based on an interview with Iraqi Oil Minister Tayeh Abdel Karim, who gave no timetable for the development of the new fields. But he said that contracts with a number of foreign firms for the provision of technical services for development work were "in the process of being concluded." Before the outbreak of the war with Iran in September 1980, Iraq's total production and export capacity was estimated at 4 million b/d. According to Mr Abdel Karim, the country's current export capacity through the Syrian and Turkish pipelines is slightly less than one million b/d. He expressed the hope that this might rise to 1.3 million b/d as a result of renewed pumping of Iraqi oil to the Lebanese terminal in Tripoli, scheduled for re-opening early in the new year (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, November 23, 1981). Three of the five new fields to be developed are located in the Basrah area (Qurnah, Majnoon, Nahr Umr). A fourth is located east of Baghdad and the fifth, Halfaya, is near the Iranian frontier in the northern part of Amarah province. While the war with Iran has dragged on and shows no signs of ending, Iraqi development plans are being carried forward, often with the financial backing of Arab neighbors in the Gulf. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 p 10]

KOREAN HOUSING CONTRACT--The Iraqi Ministry of Housing has signed an \$800 million contract with Hyundai Construction and Engineering of Seoul to build two identical housing projects of 2,800 units each. The turnkey projects will include apartments, houses, schools and will be built according to a Hyundai design in Samarra, 150 kilometres north of Baghdad and in Falluja, 80 kilometres west of Baghdad. Hyundai has previously won contracts in Iraq for roads and town developments. Construction will begin in January 1982 and completion is scheduled for mid-1985. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 52, 28 Dec 81 p 9]

CSO: 4400/113

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SYRIA CONTINUES DESPITE STRAINED RELATIONS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 pp 5-6

[Text]

Strained political relations between Jordan and Syria have not affected economic cooperation between the two countries and joint Syro-Jordanian projects are going forward as if nothing had happened, this newsletter was told by an informed source last week. Relations between the two countries came close to breaking point at the beginning of the last year after Syria charged that Jordan was abetting Muslim Brotherhood extremists responsible for terrorist attacks in Syria and Jordan's Chargé d'Affaires in Lebanon Hisham al-Mohaisen was kidnapped by gunmen in Beirut (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, February 16, 1981).

In many respects, continuing cooperation between Jordan and Syria is all the more remarkable – and commendable – in the light of much closer links between Jordan and Iraq since the outbreak of the Gulf war between Iraq and Iran. With the exception of a brief rapprochement in 1979, the Iraqi and Syrian branches of the Baath Party have been bitter antagonists for many years and this enmity has been compounded by Syrian support for Iran. It should be noted, however, that an agreement concluded during the rapprochement whereby Iraqi crude oil is exported through the pipeline across Syria to the Mediterranean port of Baniyas has continued without interruption and has been extended recently to permit Iraq to pump oil to the export terminal at Tripoli in northern Lebanon.

Economic cooperation between Jordan and Syria has included the standardisation of customs duties on essential goods, extension of the telephone networks and the integration of their electric power transmission grids. By 1977, the two countries were able to announce that they had invested \$222 million in joint projects that include a maritime transport company and a land transport company.

Cooperation with Iraq, the source said, has placed considerable strain on Jordan's transport system because Jordan's Red Sea port of Aqaba has been handling much of Iraq's imports. Trucks are in short supply and are therefore usually over-laden for the trip to Iraq. This is damaging Jordan's roads, causing heavy repair bills, the source said.

## APPROACH TO HIGHER EDUCATION EXAMINED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 pp 6-7

[Text]

At a time when the American University of Beirut faces severe financial difficulties as the result of a deficit of some \$10 million, when AUB's trustees are searching for a new president and when uncertainty besets both faculty and students, nearby Jordan is showing exuberant confidence in its development of university education. This is because Jordan's attitude to higher education is unique in the Arab world: there are over 70,000 Jordanians who are believed to be studying at universities abroad as well as about one-quarter as many again who are registered at the University of Jordan at Amman and at Yarmouk University near Irbid in the northern part of the Kingdom.

The background to the development of higher education in Jordan is significant. In the 1950s and early 1960s Britain was still subsidising Jordan's recurrent budget deficits as a historical consequence of its mandatory role over Transjordan which ended officially in 1946. A British military mission visited Jordan in 1961 and its head conferred with Jordan's Field Marshal Majali on the army's requirements. He is reported to have told his British counterpart that "armaments go obsolete in no time, money buys less day by day. Give us a University, that is what we really need." The British Defence Ministry was astonished by this request. Yet, maybe because of its originality, it promptly acted on it.

A team from the universities of Cambridge, London, and Oxford was despatched to Amman and recommended setting up a Royal Commission on Education.

By September 1962 the Royal Commission had prepared a report which advocated establishing a university. From this unlikely beginning springs the University of Jordan. Thanks to dedicated Jordanian decision-makers, it opened its doors on December 15, 1962 to 167 students enrolled in the Faculty of Arts,

taught by the university's first seven faculty members in temporary quarters in Amman. Now the University of Jordan stands on a magnificent campus about five miles to the North of Amman and comprises 10 Faculties and a student enrolment of over 10,000.

The most striking aspect reflects, however, the purpose of higher education in Jordan today. The point has been made, over and over again, to trustees, students and foreign visitors by Dr Abdul-Salam Majali, President of the University of Jordan, who is the brother of the man whose "military" request kindled Jordan's development towards higher education in 1961. "Jordan's main industry is education," stresses Dr Majali, "and the country's main export is human talent." The sentence is spoken in one breath which gives it the value of an objective, not just of a description. Currently, Jordan has some 300,000 citizens working abroad, not all university graduates, of course. But more and more temporary expatriates in the future will be doctors, nurses, engineers, architects, veterinarians, and agricultural advisers. For these are the main products of the expanding faculties of the University of Jordan and Yarmouk University. And many of them will be female, for the quantity and quality of enrolment of girls is impressive at both institutions.

Dr Majali does not fear a brain drain of the sort that plagues countries like India. In fact, emigration is very limited as distinct from temporary expatriation: the latter benefits Jordan in two ways: practical experience is acquired abroad and earnings remitted or subsequently invested at home provide for development and higher standards of living in Jordan itself.

Ultimate development at home is very much within the objectives set by Yarmouk University. The university's President, Dr A Badran, lays stress on two practical aspects of contemporary life: science-and-

technology and service to the community. He, too, is committed to expanding higher education in Jordan. For those who witnessed the exodus or influx of refugees since the dislocation of Palestine in 1948 it is clear that "those who made it, away from home, were those with education," he says. In line with this pragmatism, the Department of Humanities at Yarmouk University is conceived principally as a service department; no BA degrees are awarded in law, history, geography, religion and the like. These courses are nevertheless recommended electives. And to go one step further: at the University of Jordan all medical students take courses in the humanities during all seven years of their scientific studies so that they become integrated members of society and not merely scientific robots or worse.

Whereas Yarmouk University's primary aim is to transfer technology to the Middle East through education and research by its staff instead of having the country merely buy it from the industrialised world, this philosophy is very much interwoven with its community service ideals. These are themselves a novel educational concept in Jordan. Without jeopardising the broad concept of a University, its Western-educated faculty views as a single entity the total economic and social development of the country. That is why, for instance, a farm for agricultural research forms part of the 10,293 *dunums* (2,600 acres) university site near Irbid, about 56 miles north of Amman and about 15 miles south of the border with Syria.

As a further community service, much of the research, be it in architecture or medicine, is expected to be problem-oriented to fit the needs, values and traditions of Jordan.

Yarmouk University is expanding its education drive into the villages of the north. And later, when current plans lead to the creation of a third university near Karak in the south of the country, it will have a similar beneficial effect on that area. Already at Yarmouk's temporary site near Irbid, evening classes have been started, more specifically graduate courses in education and the social sciences.

An incalculable service to the community resides in the high percentage enrolment of girl students at Yarmouk University, most of whom come from the Northern governorate; it has reached 34 percent. And while this is lower than the University of Jordan's 44 percent female enrolment, the latter's springs mainly from the capital, which clearly is a more open society than that of a provincial town. And "the best students are girls," according to Yarmouk University's authorities. They enter university with better high school averages, maybe because many bright boys have been sent abroad for their university education while Jordanian families are less inclined to send their daughters abroad.

But facts are facts and girls increasingly become teachers and take over in such fields such as architecture, pharmacy, biochemistry, pathology and allied medical sciences. Moreover, they find excellent work opportunities in the Gulf countries, which are in dire need of female professionals, particularly in their medical and health services. The recent enrolment in the University of Jordan's School of Pharmacy was 53, including 48 girls. Strangely perhaps, female enrolment in the Department of Islamic Jurisprudence (Shari'a) is also higher than that of men.

The two existing universities in Jordan are independent institutions. Both have adopted the American credit hour system for its inflexibility. Both run summer schools. Both have a faculty/student ratio of 1:20 or better and courses and instruction at both universities are in English. While the University of Jordan already has its university teaching hospital with over 600 beds, Yarmouk's hospital is still in the design stage, as indeed are many of the Faculty buildings and dormitories, apartments, and villas at the permanent site. Provision is being made there to lodge on campus 10,000 students. Currently, at the temporary site, there are only dormitories for 800 girls plus housing for faculty. One interesting feature is that solar energy panels heat the water for these houses. Other noteworthy aspects of Yarmouk University are, for instance, on campus schooling for children of faculty members leading to the Jordanian, American, British school certificates as well as the international baccalaureate; on campus facilities such as a supermarket, bank, mosque, an active gymnasium and in due course a sports stadium with an amphitheatre capable of seating 6,000 persons. Very little has been neglected to make this intellectual community also a comfortable community. Strikingly, the most popular area on campus is the library.

As Jordan's universities are not government-run, neither is a direct burden on the Jordanian government's budget. Student fees cover about 25 per cent of the operating cost, the balance being provided by a university tax, the proceeds of which are directly allocated to the universities. This tax is assessed at the rate of 3 per cent on all goods imported into Jordan, 1 per cent of company profits, 1 per cent on all real estate transaction, 1 per cent on professional licences (doctors, engineers, etc.). For Yarmouk University's construction and expansion, estimated to run at about \$60 million per year for the next decade, a Trust Fund is being set up under the chairmanship of Dr Mohammad Said Nabulsi, the Governor of the Central Bank of Jordan.

For an industry producing talent serving the countries of the Arabian peninsula and beyond, Jordan also expects additional assistance from those quarters.



## FIVE-YEAR PLAN'S GOALS FOR AGRICULTURE DISCUSSED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 52, 28 Dec 81 pp 9-12

[Text]

Four years of drought (1976-79) during the period of Jordan's previous five-year plan highlight the main problem faced by the country's agriculture: lack of water. Only 1.3 per cent of Jordan's surface areas receives sufficient rainfall (600 millimetres per year) for agricultural purposes, in the best of times. Rainfall cannot be depended upon even in this area and agriculture is risky. As a result many farmers are giving up the land and moving to the cities. To make matters worse, recoverable water sources (springs, wells, dams, rivers) are very limited and they often require considerable technical infrastructure to be installed if they are to be efficient. Indeed, it may be no exaggeration to say that water is the key element, not only in agriculture, but in the future of Jordan's economy in its entirety.

The scarcity of water in Jordan may make it imperative for Jordanian planners to choose between using water for irrigation (agriculture) and using it for domestic and industrial purposes. Making such a weighty decision will require a clear and detailed appraisal of the role of agriculture in the Jordanian economy. Perhaps more important, given the emphasis of the new five-year "economic and social" plan on satisfying basic human needs (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, November 23), a decision is required on the role of agriculture in Jordanian society as a whole.

There is no evidence in the new plan that such an appraisal has been made, but comments by a high-level economic planner on the need to reverse the trend towards "urban bias" and rural-urban migration by making rural life both liveable and economically feasible (let alone profitable) would indicate that the agricultural sector is being looked upon with increasing favour. Drought-quenching rains and resulting bumper harvests in 1980 may have excited some enthusiasm about the potential of agriculture in the country; planners are emphasising the need to boost production so as to achieve

self-sufficiency in food. This will take some doing, given that Jordan now imports about 60 per cent of its food. Related to the issue of increasing agricultural production is the problem of deciding whether it should be for domestic consumption (food self-sufficiency) or for export to reduce the country's considerable trade deficit.

While the new five-year plan reveals no major reappraisal of agriculture's importance, the allocation to the sector is somewhat higher than in the previous plan (6.5 per cent of total, as compared with the 5.2 per cent of total allocated in 1976). On the other hand, its contribution to GNP is expected to drop from 8.5 per cent in 1980 to 7.2 per cent in 1985.

The fact that agriculture achieved an average annual growth rate of 5.7 per cent in real terms between 1975 and 1980, despite the prevalent drought conditions, bears testimony to the importance of irrigation. It is irrigation which serves to minimise the crippling effects of fluctuations in rainfall on the agricultural sector and stabilise levels of production. Despite this, there were only 386,000 dunums (1 Jordanian dunum = about 0.06 hectare), of irrigated land in Jordan in 1977 (1.4 per cent of arable land totalling 8.7 million dunums). Agricultural development in Jordan will depend on irrigation of some 340,000 dunums of land in the Jordan Valley, where at present there are some 220,000 dunums under irrigation.

The 1976-80 five-year plan sought to increase the total area under permanent irrigation by 341,000 dunums by the end of 1981, and to convert 117,000 dunums of land irrigated by surface irrigation to more efficient sprinkler irrigation. Only 100,000 dunums were actually brought under irrigation, according to the new plan, including 64,000 dunums in the Jordan Valley. The conversion of surface irrigation to sprinkler systems went more or less as planned throughout the country, revealing the



determination of Jordanian planners to make the most of existing water resources through efficient use and conservation. The new plan calls for increasing the area of irrigated land by 180,000 dunums by 1985, although it is not clear if this figure is meant to be in addition to the 240,000 dunums still waiting for water from the old plan.

Related to the extension of irrigation networks are projects for building and heightening dams, construction of drainage systems, building of water purification plants, drilling new wells, extending pipelines from remote wells, setting up rain and flood collection structures and tapping the waters of the Euphrates in cooperation with Iraq. Other measures designed to make more efficient use of existing water resources for both agricultural and non-agricultural uses include converting from rain-dependent field crops (wheat, barley, lentils) to irrigated ones (fruits and vegetables), improving the collection and storage of water resource data, training of technicians, anti-pollution measures and afforestation and other anti-erosion/flooding measures. During the period of the last five-year plan a total of JD 80 million (JD = \$2.99 at current exchange rates) was spent on water projects. The current plan has slated JD 521.7 million to water projects, underlining the increased sense of urgency with which Jordanian planners view water. Investment in water and irrigation in the new plan amounts to 15.81 per cent of the total budget, as compared to 12.73 per cent under the last plan.

Perhaps the major problem in the water sector identified by the new plan is "the lack of a clear water policy which limits the exploitation of water and determines priorities for water use so as to cover the needs of the various economic sectors and geographic areas." This problem was also paramount in the 1976-80 plan, which states, "There is no coordination or overall water policy regarding the development of water resources and their utilisation in the light of priorities and basic needs." Part of the problem is the complexity of water resource exploration and control in the country, where responsibility is scattered among a number of different agencies. It is unfortunate that this situation has not been remedied, for Jordan is a country that cannot afford to waste water through bureaucratic duplication, lack of coordination and contradictory efforts.

The situation may be corrected if the first "organisational measure" proposed in the section on water in the new plan is actually implemented. This calls for "the creation of a national water authority which is solely responsible for the development, management and use of water resources, giving special attention to defining long-term priorities with respect to drinking water, industrial

use, and agriculture..." The quicker this is done the better, but a look at the current plan does not provide one with a sense of the existence of integrated long term planning, rather one is confronted with a plethora of projects and technical solutions. While these are important, they may be working at cross purposes if there is not proper emphasis on the organisational and managerial aspects of water supply and use.

An exception to the piecemeal approach to water resource development and use which has characterised Jordan in the past is the Jordan Valley irrigation scheme. The first phase of this project, now completed, integrated the important East Ghor Canal, which runs 88 kilometres from the Yarmuk River southwards towards the Dead Sea, (which it will eventually reach by means of an extension) with the King Talal Dam in the hills above the Jordan Valley, which controls the flow of the Zarqa, Jordan's only other substantial river. The second phase of the scheme hinges on the construction of the projected Maqarin Dam in the Yarmuk river. With a storage capacity of 388 million cubic metres a year compared to King Talal's 48 million cubic metres a year, the new dam is viewed as vital to the supply of water to northern Jordan and to Amman via a series of pumping stations from the East Ghor Canal. The Maqarin Dam, the proposed 14.5 km extension of the East Ghor Canal, the extension of Jordan Valley irrigation networks, the conversion to sprinkler irrigation throughout 13 agricultural zones in the valley, and the building of pumping stations are the key elements of phase two of the Jordan Valley scheme. The cost of the whole project is estimated at JD 200 million over the five years of the plan and three-quarters of the investment needed is to come from foreign sources.

Phase two of the Jordan Valley irrigation scheme is the most integrated project in Jordan's 1981-1985 plans for water. It is scheduled to receive more than one-third of total investment of funds for water projects, making it the largest single item on the programme. The next most important project is one aimed at providing Amman with 45 million cubic meters of drinking water per day from Deir Alaa on the East Ghor Canal. The project will relieve water shortages in the capital and its environs after plans to supply the area with water from the King Talal dam had to be abandoned because of the high chemical content - nitrates, phosphates and phosphorus - of the Zarqa river, which flushes the Amman-Zarqa area. This area contains 90 per cent of Jordan's industry, 60 per cent of its motor vehicles and 65 per cent of its population, bringing into relief the importance of the drinking water project.

Work on the project is to have begun by the end of 1981, and is to cost JD 56.5 million. Two-thirds of the funding is to come from foreign sources, and a Saudi

**SUMMARY OF AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS  
IN 1981-1985 PLAN  
(Allocations in 000 Jordanian Dinars)**

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total
Annual Afforestation	360	1850	1390	1600	1640	6840
National Afforestation Program	—	340	375	405	450	1570
Forest Nursery Development	135	240	275	315	365	1330
Zarqa River Basin Development	450	4175	4500	4430	5110	18665
Soil Conservation and Fruit Tree Planting	1000	2500	2800	3000	3650	12550
Grain Production Improvement and Increase	105	105	105	95	90	500
Fruit Tree Seedling Production	460	1310	1200	1200	1200	5370
Vegetable Seed Production	234	676	690	650	600	2050
Potato Seed Production	—	170	145	150	260	725
Jordan Valley Agriculture	—	650	350	350	350	1800
Red Meat Production	—	450	2700	2720	2730	8600
Poultry Meat Production	1000	4000	1500	—	—	6500
Veterinary Vaccinations	—	150	100	100	—	350
Development of Preparation and Marketing Facilities for Poultry and Poultry Products	—	1500	1000	1000	500	4000
Founding of National Center for Agricultural Research	—	750	1000	1000	250	3000
Ghars Agricultural Research	—	1060	685	555	630	2930
Agricultural Marketing Centres	500	1500	750	180	180	3115
Tomato Paste Factory	600	600	100	—	—	1360
PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT	9400	11400	29900	35000	48000	133700
TOTAL	14244	33426	49165	52350	65610	214795

loan of \$29.43 million (1 JD = \$2.99) for the project was announced recently.

The high proportion of foreign financing for the Amman drinking water project, the Jordan Valley irrigation scheme and other projects are indicative of the predominant importance of foreign aid to the Jordanian economy as a whole. Foreign aid is the leading source of Jordanian revenue, followed by repatriation of earnings from skilled expatriate labour, mainly working in the Gulf.

While this may raise questions as to the actual contribution of the agricultural sector to the Jordanian economy, it is fairly evident that farm production ranks high in the country's development planning. This is evidenced by the supreme importance given to the Jordan Valley development projects, insofar as the Jordan Valley has been Jordan's main agricultural region since Israel's occupation of the fertile West Bank in 1967.

Agriculture today contributes 8.5 per cent of GDP and employs 17 per cent of the work force. Only in the Jordan Valley is farming truly flourishing; fruit and vegetables produced there showed increases in production of 60 per cent during the 1976-80 period, while the rain-fed crops elsewhere in the country showed a decline of 36 per cent.

The Jordan Valley represents less than 10 per cent of the country's arable land, but its fruit and vegetables account for 90.6 per cent of Jordanian agricultural exports and 24 per cent of total exports.

As the table of revenue allocations to agriculture under the five-year plan shows, the lion's share of investment is to come from the private sector. Agriculture in Jordan is still carried out on small plots of land (3-4 hectares) by land-owning farmers or, increasingly, by sharecroppers. This is especially the case in the Jordan Valley, where returns on irrigated land are lucrative. Government expenditure in the agricultural sector is intended to improve the infrastructure, services and technology available to the farm owner. But at base agriculture is private enterprise. As farming methods in the Jordan Valley are becoming increasingly sophisticated some observers are predicting the development of agribusiness based on larger-sized farms owned by wealthy absentee landlords.

Clearly the emphasis in Jordan is on agricultural production for export. Tomatoes, squash, cucumbers,

eggplants, citrus fruits, melons and grapes produced in the Jordan Valley are often more readily available and at cheaper prices in the Gulf countries (Jordan's main market for agricultural produce) than in Amman. One of the goals of the new five-year plan is to limit the cultivation of rain-dependent field crops (wheat, barley, lentils) to "appropriate areas," while at the same time increasing their productivity so as to effect an increase in production of 30 per cent over the five years of the plan. The result will be that some land currently used for field crops and dependent on rainfall will be converted to the irrigated production of fruits and vegetables and for grazing livestock. This is especially likely in the Zarqa river basin, where the plan has allocated JD 18.665 million for agricultural development involving, in addition to conversion to irrigation-dependent crops, measures to counter erosion and salination such as afforestation of some 220,000 dunums of land and the introduction of contoured strip farming. (The implementation of the Zarqa River Basin Project will take seven years and is the largest single project of the new plan in terms of revenue allocation.)

The reasoning behind this policy may be that since Jordan is highly dependent on foreign aid it makes more sense to try to reduce the country's trade deficit than to try to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency, which would be nearly impossible in any event, given the country's limited water and suitable land. Jordan's geographic location, its army of skilled labourers and technicians working throughout the Middle East and its moderate political system all make it an outward-looking country more than an isolated, self-contained one. Thus it comes as no surprise that the plan notes that one of the major problems faced by Jordanian agriculture is "the absence of coordination and integration among the Arab states in matters of agricultural production and the continued existence of restrictions on the exchange of agricultural commodities between them. This results in the inability of a country to fully exploit its resources in a way consistent with achieving the highest possible levels of production appropriate to its environmental and climatic conditions." Jordan is a country whose boundaries make little economic or social sense and, as a result, it is destined to champion the cause of Arab regional development and cooperation. And one sees this in its agricultural development plans as much as in other features of the country's economic life.

## BRIEFS

RECORD BUDGET APPROVED--A record budget of JD 765 million (about \$2.2 billion) for 1982 was approved last week by the Jordanian Consultative Council, the country's parliament. The new budget shows an increase of JD 127 million (\$380 million) over 1981 spending. The Jordanian armed forces are to receive JD 180 million (\$540 million), and other public institutions have been allocated some JD 350 million (\$1.05 billion). The budget also provides for a JD 36 million (\$108 million) deficit, which could increase if Arab states are late in compensating for aid promised to Jordan by Algeria and Libya which will not be forthcoming. Figures for this aid had been promised at the Baghdad Summit of 1978. The budget awaits a royal decree before it becomes law. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 p 6]

CSO: 4400/116

KUWAITI DAILY RAPS U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

PM151239 Kuwait AL-WATTAN in Arabic 13 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Firas al-Hamadani: "The United States, Israel and Neutrality"]

[Text] Less than a month after what Arab circles regarded as a surprising and considerable change in U.S. policy, when Washington condemned the Israeli decision annexing the Golan Heights and threatened to suspend the U.S. strategic alliance with Israel, President Reagan has taken another step, not so surprising this time but rather customary in the relations between the United States and the Zionist entity. The day before yesterday Menahem Begin received a message from the U.S. President telling him that all the differences between Washington and Tel Aviv are matters of the past and should be forgotten because the United States will never shun its responsibility for safeguarding Israel's interests.

Another U.S. official backed this message up with the declaration that Washington will not hold up the U.S. economic aid for Israel, which is to reach \$2.2 billion this year, not to mention the military, technical and political aid. F-18 aircraft will be manufactured jointly by the United States and Israel.

After all this, some of us still hold the sinful view that U.S. policy could be steered toward a position of neutrality and justice in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We do not wish to discuss here all that has been said or is likely to be said about the possibility of neutralizing the United States or convincing it that it is not in U.S. interests to support the Israeli aggression. Such a discussion would be futile. We must not be fooled by a show staged by the Americans and the Israelis to give the impression of disagreement between them. We would be indulging in self-deception, harming our interests and wasting our time if we did.

As we have repeatedly said, the U.S.-Israeli alliance has turned Israel into a state more favored and pampered than any U.S. states. Therefore any aggression committed by Israel against us is above all a U.S. aggression. Is it not time for us to draw up our Arab strategy on the basis of this confirmed fact? We hope so, and we hope that our hope will not be dashed again.

CSO: 4404/223



COMMENTS ON U.S., PALESTINE AUTONOMY TALKS

LD201354 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 1017 GMT 20 Jan 82

[Unattributed Commentary]

[Excerpts] Why is America anxious to rush through the Palestinian autonomy negotiations? The American President Ronald Reagan has again expressed U.S. confidence that Egypt and Israel will be able to reach a plan on autonomy for Palestinians residing in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza sector before 25 April.

What is the reason for this American determination to rush through the autonomy negotiations? Has it any connection with Israel's decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights and America's indirect support for this decision, exposed by its foiling an international measure against Israel at the Security Council?

It appears that America's determination to rush through the autonomy negotiations has two main aims. The first is psychological; the United States wants to appear to the Arabs--whose friendship it claims--that it is concerned with establishing peace in the Middle East, especially after its stand supporting Israel annexing the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The second is practical, linked to American plans in the region, namely, the liquidation of the Palestinian question under the caption of autonomy rule, and thus subsequently to achieve what American policy strives for in Reagan's time--the so-called strategic coordination, an undeclared alliance against the Soviet Union, which America wants to set up in the region under the leadership of powerful Israel.

Could this American determination act as a helpful factor in clarifying (?the rest) of what is being said about American-Israeli differences? All evidence indicate that America now intends to pressure Husni Mubarak's Egypt to get it to reach an agreement with Israel for the liquidation of the Palestinian question. America feels that Egypt will not be compelled to give any concessions after the completion of the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Sinai, set for 25 April, and hence this withdrawal should be linked in one way or another with the autonomy negotiations reaching a decisive conclusion before that date. The United States, though not the author of the Israeli saying: No Palestinian state on any part of the territory of Palestine, at least supports this saying under the cloak of removing Soviet influence from the Middle East.

CSO: 4404/223

KUWAITI EDITORIALS ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

LD101422 Kuwait KUNA in English 1119 GMT 10 Jan 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Kuwait, 10 Jan (KUNA)--AR-RA'Y AL'-AMM on the Iranian-Iraqi war:

"Is the Iranian-Iraqi war being waged on some other planet? One simply wonders sometimes because never in history has a war been going on for such long time without stirring real world attention aimed at ending it."

"It is becoming clear then that terminating the Shah's regime was a prelude to this war that is designed to exhaust Iraq's potential and role in addition to diverting the attention of the Arab countries in the Peninsula and the Arab Gulf region from the Central Arab cause of facing the Zionist threat."

"The strings of the conspiracy become obvious with regard to this war when watching it being left in oblivion while recalling that the world itself shivered totally last April when Israel disputed the presence of a number of Syrian missiles in the Lebanese valley of Al-Biqa.

"It seems then this war was caused to take revenge against the Arabs for the Baghdad summit and the course they intended to assume after the Camp David, of organizing an Arab front to counter the attack, decided in the camp, in order to preserve the Arab rights from being wasted."

"Otherwise what would be the meaning behind neglecting this war between two countries in the most important and most sensitive part in this world, that is the oil region."

"The West would have at least got concerned with the war, in a region it considers as part of its "vital interests, as much as it did regarding the Civil War in Chad. The West raised hell then until it drove the Libyan troops out. It then worked on the formation of a joint African force that is currently expending efforts to halt the civil war between the government and Habre's forces."

KUWAIT TIMES on the same subject:

"The state of Kuwait is no doubt deeply concerned with the hoped-for results of its constructive mediation between Iran and Iraq who have been locked in mortal combat for the past 16 months."

"Syria is also concerned that this senseless killing should come to an end, now that Menachem Begin has risen to the heights of Zionist affrontery an annexed Syrian land."

"Muslims in the Arab and non-Arab world are most anxious that the Gulf War should come to an end--the sooner the better, because external dangers are to be seen in the actions of the Zionist and their allies greedy for more Arab lands."

"The state of Kuwait is obviously worried at the sad situation of the Gulf War raging on the hand while the Zionists are having a field day in and around Damascus, Beirut, Amman and Baghdad."

"If Iraq and Iran were not engaged in a bloody war the Zionists would not have dared to violate Iraqi airspace as they did the other day in defiance of the armed camps of Jordan, Syria and Iraq itself."

"It is the collective Arab and Muslim demand that the war machine between Iraq and Iran should come to a halt forthwith. Kuwait, India and Yugoslavia, and with them the rest of the non-aligned countries, believe that the continuation of this costly war would eventually put many non-aligned countries into jeopardy, when their general assembly conference is hopefully to be held this summer end in Baghdad. The consensus of the non-aligned movement is for a quick end to this war so that the movement's members can with less anxiety, turn to their own development problems and put their own house in order."

"This is the first time that joint efforts are being made by Kuwait and Syria to put an end to the Gulf War. There is sound reason behind Kuwait's good offices: the imminent Zionist danger which has marked southern Lebanon on the list of its expansionist policy."

CSO: 4400/112

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

NEW FRG ENVOY--The acting Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir today received at the foreign ministry a copy of the credentials of the new FRG ambassador to Kuwait Heinrich Wersdoerfer. The ceremony was attended by the Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry, the director of the Foreign Minister's office and the acting chief of the Protocol Department. [Text] [LD170204 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 16 Jan 82 LD]

CSO: 4404/223

# REACTION TO U.S. INITIATIVE DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1293 14 Aug 81 pp 13-14

[Article: "Different Reactions Precede Reagan's Appeal for a Meeting Between Lebanese Leaders: Washington Encourages the Holding of a Political Summit Meeting Prior to Its Initiative to Solve Lebanon's Crisis"]

[Text] One day last week, when discussions were going on concerning the consolidation of the cease-fire in Lebanon and concerning warding off the prospects of an Israeli invasion of the South, a former prime minister relayed, from American embassy circles in Beirut, important information concerning a new American initiative. The objective of the initiative is to consolidate the truce and cease-fire and then proceed to the stage of a political dialogue between the adversaries.

According to the information obtained by the former prime minister, the American embassy circles in Lebanon referred to a probing and pulse-taking operation, the objective of which is to determine the degree of interest on the part of Muslim and Christian political leaders in an official invitation which would probably be sent to all of them to visit the U.S. and to meet with a number of top officials there, possibly including a meeting with President Reagan.

According to the details of the information concerning this point, the U.S. administration, which has discussed with the nations of Western Europe the details of a particular initiative for dealing with the Lebanese crisis, feels that it might be necessary to sound out the opinions of the political and party leaders [in Lebanon] concerning the bases for the solution before embarking upon the step of submitting the initiative for discussion and before supporting a step which the Lebanese government presumably would have to embark upon by inviting [these leaders] to a national dialogue and conference which would be held in the Palace of the Republic in Beirut next September or October.

According to his information, the U.S. administration desires that such preparatory consultations be limited to leaders of politically-active groups which are both prominent and influential in the Lebanese arena. [The U.S. administration has] a fundamental concept of who the Lebanese leaders are who should be consulted and this concept, which could be modified or dispensed with at any time, includes prominent political names, including but not restricted to the following: Camille Sham'un, Sulayman Franjiyah, Sa'ib Salam, Rashid Karami, Pierre al-Jumayyil, Kamil al-As'ad, Walid Junblat, and Ibrahim Qulaylat. Other names were also mentioned in



this context, including Brig Gen Raymond Iddih and other prominent personalities. However, the final list could add or omit numerous names in accordance with the reactions as well as the degree of acceptance or rejection which these suggested political leaders demonstrate concerning such an invitation.

This idea resulted from Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil's visit to the U.S. and the type of discussions which were held with him there. In addition to this, there is a direct desire, originating with President Reagan, to learn the opinions of all of the Lebanese leaders concerning a solution before the President's envoy Philip Habib suggests any concept of an American initiative next September or October.

In this context it was mentioned in Beirut that some U.S. officials have taken into account Lebanese political proposals which have called for the holding of such a dialogue with all of the Lebanese leaders. This could be achieved by sending Philip Habib again to Beirut to hold the necessary discussions with all of the various groups, and then he would relay their opinions and reactions to President Reagan in Washington. In this manner it would be possible to overcome the reservations which some of the Muslim, Maronite, and leftist leaders have concerning the idea of going to Washington to hold the necessary dialogue.

During these current consultations the Americans were told that there are leaders who have decided not to hold any dialogue with the U.S. administration because of their lack of confidence in its policy toward Lebanon and toward the Middle East as well as because of its wholehearted support for Israel. There are also Lebanese leaders who are boycotting all U.S. administrations after the experience of the national political delegation which accompanied President Sulayman Franjiyah in 1974 to New York, when they had to endure humiliating harassment at the hands of the U.S. police. In addition to this, there are leftist leaders who are not considering or who are not taking into account the possibility of accepting such an invitation which might be sent to them from Washington.

It was said, as a response to these reservations, that President Reagan's personal envoy Philip Habib would of course pursue his mission and offer his mediation services when the appropriate time comes for this. It was also said that since the U.S. administration desires to deal with the roots of the crisis, this might necessitate an invitation to some of the Lebanese leaders to visit Washington. The Americans basically do not feel that it is impossible, for example, to invite Walid Junblat to visit Washington or to accept this invitation because he has already visited Washington more than once. And if he accepts this invitation which might be sent to him this time, he could represent a large number of leftist and national leaders in Lebanon.

In view of this type of efforts and contacts, some independent [Lebanese] Christian politicians have made contacts of their own with U.S. officials. They have suggested scrapping plans which have the objective of attempting to gather together the various Lebanese leaders in conferences which are held abroad, no matter how justified such conferences might be. They have said that support for the legitimate government, in accordance with what the U.S. administration has said concerning its future initiative, necessitates having the Palace of the Republic be the normal location for all types of national dialogues and that the president and prime minister should be given the opportunity to bring about this achievement if circumstances permit it. The reason for this is that a meeting of all of the

leaders to search for solutions within the framework of an integral national accord would provide the legitimate Lebanese government with the power which it needs in order to assert its existence. Also this would eliminate many of the possibilities of failure entailed if people were to invite the leaders to a meeting outside Lebanon, even if the location of the national dialogue were acceptable to all parties.

What are the politicians in Beirut saying about the expected U.S. initiative?

Some well-informed important politicians have said that it is a mistake to call this U.S. effort an "initiative," and that the reason for this is that the U.S. government is still studying, analyzing, and searching for the best available means to transform the cease-fire decision into a long-term truce which would be followed by prospects for searching for a solution which would stop the deterioration [of Lebanon's situation] and would lessen the involvement of the Lebanese problem with the Middle East crisis as a whole.

These politicians also said that the U.S. might present a plan for a solution which could be described as an initiative if, after the series of consultations which it is holding, it could be sure that its initiative could be considered acceptable for discussion by all parties. They said that if the U.S. does not include this element in advance, then one can be sure that it will not be able to embark upon proposing any plan for a solution and will end up continuing to adhere to its present policy of dealing [with the Lebanese crisis]--which is that of relying on the method of putting out fires day by day and hour by hour.

These politicians have recognized the existence of a general concept for a U.S. and Western European plan for a solution to the problem of the intensifying Lebanese crisis.

They said that Philip Habib will bring this plan to the Middle East after all of the reactions concerning it have crystallized. They said that the plan aims at imposing a long-term truce in Lebanon which would, during the course of an entire year, provide an opportunity to consolidate the foundations of a solution which would bring about a cease-fire in the South, regulate the armed Palestinian presence [there], gradually restore the initiative which is in the hands of the militias to the Lebanese government, and consolidate the nature of the political and security relationship which exists between Lebanon and Syria.

If these efforts should see the light of day and survive during this given period of 1 year, then after that one could proceed to arrange the practical details of a solution. On the basis of such a solution the next president of the republic could be chosen, this solution could be transformed into programs of action for his administration, and he could be entrusted with the mission of putting into application the means and methods which he feels are appropriate and which would be agreed upon with him before he is elected.

A large group of Lebanese politicians reject this concept. They say that Lebanon's experiences with previous U.S. administrations do not give cause for optimism. They say that the Americans do not have the freedom to make decisions concerning the Middle East crisis, do not possess the capability of putting into practice what they pledge to do, and that if they held to these types of commitments which require

that a year go by before learning what their fate will be they will [in the meantime] face pressure from Israel which will force them to go back on such commitments--and this happened a number of times with former President Carter.

Palestinian leaders, for their part, say that Israel buys time by relying on such U.S. and European plans. They say that when the U.S. brandishes what it labels as new U.S. initiatives, Israel continues with military preparations to invade the South of Lebanon, to occupy the territories of the South, and to wipe out the Palestinian Resistance. They also say that the Palestinian Resistance, which is keeping track of this plan and is preparing to deal with it, finds that Syria is also on the alert and is also preparing to deal with it. They also emphasize the necessity to uncover the U.S. position and come to know what its hidden elements are.

This is why it is important to know what the fate will be of the emergency summit conference which President Elias Sarkis invited the Arab kings and heads of state to hold in order to discuss the situation in the South. High Lebanese officials are certain that Israel will not wait a whole year for the U.S. initiative and plan for a solution to crystallize. They feel that the Arab kings and heads of state should lay all of these facts on the discussion table because President Sarkis still expects the Israelis to invade and occupy the South either suddenly or whenever they feel that the circumstances are ripe for them to carry out their old plans. They say that President Sarkis believes that the holding of the summit conference is a necessary step right now, regardless of whether Western Europe or the U.S. comes up with a new initiative for a solution.

President Sarkis's opinions were relayed to a number of the Arab kings and heads of state, accompanied by warnings which basically said that Israel would certainly embark upon actions which would have the situation explode if it felt that there would be a solution which would not be in conformity with its interests or which would [negatively] affect its plans. The warnings also stated that, on the basis of these facts, it was necessary that there be a clearly-defined Arab policy which would define responsibilities and prevent the misinterpretation of Arab reactions to any aggression or territorial occupation which might take place.

At this point it should be admitted that there has been a total absence of reaction on the part of the Arabs, for various reasons, to this invitation to hold a summit conference. Some of the reasons involve a desire on the part of some of the Arab countries to gain more time in order to observe international trends concerning exploring steps which should be taken against the U.S.

But all indications in Beirut point to the fact that something is about to be given birth to. It might be a miraculous solution or it might be a strange creature which is incapable of survival.

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PATRIARCH STRESSES NEED FOR CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM COEXISTENCE

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1239 14 Aug 81 pp 12-13

[Interview with Greek Catholic Patriarch Hakim, at his official residence, by Sami al-Hajj and Sharbil Zughayb: "Patriarch Hakim Assesses His Foreign Trip for AL-HAWADITH: The Pope Demands the Establishment of Mutual Understanding Between Christians and Muslims as a Prelude to Solving the Lebanese Problem!"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The Lebanese Meeting Will Contribute Toward a Relaxation of Tensions, and the Arab Countries Are Required to Play a Greater Role.

Many questions have been asked concerning the attempt to assassinate His Beatitude Patriarch Maximos V Hakim, the patriarch of the Greek Catholic sect. Some people consider that there were personal motives behind the assassination attempt, but others believe that one important reason for the attempted assassination near Bhamdun was the positions taken by the patriarch concerning events taking place in Lebanon, his endorsement of the Syrian initiative in Lebanon, and his visits to the Muslim spiritual leaders. The patriarch is not commenting on this assassination attempt, and whenever he is asked about the reasons for it, he always say: "Forgive them, oh Father, for they know not what they do."

After Patriarch Hakim was discharged from the hospital, he travelled abroad on a trip which began in the Vatican and also concluded in the Vatican on his way back. He made political contacts in the countries which he visited. This was particularly true in the U.S. where he met with officials in the White House and State Department and, as he puts it, contributed toward bringing about what Lebanon has achieved in the way of a cease-fire and a solution to the Zahlah problem. In Canada he explained Lebanon's situation to the Knights of Saint Eliazar. He is this organization's Greek Catholic spiritual guide, and the organization has a great deal of influence with both Canadian and American authorities.

The first topic of AL-HAWADITH's interview with Patriarch Hakim, which was held at his official residence "on the hill," concerned the nature of his 3-month-long trip. He said:

[Patriarch Hakim] This trip of ours was a long one, and lasted about 3 months. It included Rome, Belgium, Canada, the U.S., France, and Rome a second time. The trip lasted from 30 April to 30 July. Of course, during this trip we carried



along with us the concerns of the region of the world which we live in. Although the basic purpose of the trip was to visit our churches abroad--that is to say, our basic purpose was a spiritual and religious one--nevertheless we, as responsible leaders in our sect and in our church, are not able to forget the problems of our people, especially the problems of Lebanon. This was particularly true because the Zahlah problem, when we left on our trip, was still at its most serious stage.

As for church matters, I can say that we succeeded in increasing the amount of concern shown for the members of our church who have immigrated to those countries. We established a church in Brussels, established an archdiocese in Canada, visited our archdiocese in the U.S., and in France we took part in the World Eucharistic Conference which is held every 4 years. There we celebrated the Byzantine mass together with the other Byzantine churches. Then we went to Rome to meet the secretary of the Vatican, Cardinal (Cazarolli). We were not able to have an audience with the Pope because he was hospitalized at that time.

[Question] We note that you visited Rome twice. What were your impressions regarding the degree of concern which the Vatican has for Lebanon?

[Answer] The fact is that the impression which Rome gives concerning this matter is the same as before. Basically the Vatican is very concerned. The Pope takes every possible opportunity to talk about Lebanon, and at every official audience he refers to Lebanon and to the necessity to find a solution to the Lebanese problem. This we know to be true from the facts and details which we have become aware of. The only thing which the Pope is asking us to do is for us--as Christians and Muslims, and as members of the various Catholic sects themselves--to come to mutually understand each other here because these differences among us do not make the Pope's job easy.

[Question] You said that the purpose of your trip was a spiritual one. Does this mean that you did not meet with any of the officials of the countries which you visited?

[Answer] In most of the countries which we visited we had very important meetings since we felt that it was possible that those countries could influence our situation in Lebanon. But in Belgium, for example, we did not have time to meet any political leaders. But we did meet with the bishop of Brussels who represents more than 2 million Catholics. From him we asked for all possible moral support. In Canada we had a very important meeting with 400 people who belong to the organization called the Knights of Saint Eliazar. We are the general spiritual guide of this organization in the world. Half of these people were from the U.S., and the other half were from Canada. They are considered to be influential people concerning decision-making, and they are able to influence the policies of their governments. We made a long excursion with them, during which we were able to get their support concerning many matters which are of importance to Lebanon.

In the U.S. we concentrated our greatest efforts on our visits in Washington because of the influence which the U.S. has concerning the Middle East crisis. We had meetings with top officials there, and there is no doubt that they contributed to what we achieved in terms of temporary peace, more energetic U.S. intervention, and more concern on the part of Saudi Arabia. Of course other people have also been interested in all of these matters, but we were the ones who contributed toward solving the problems.



[Question] During your trip abroad, did it seem to you that the process of solving the Lebanese crisis has actually already begun?

[Answer] At the beginning of our trip we did not notice any particular concern. However the world did show concern when the Zahlah crisis came to a head and when our people showed their staunchness. Then the Lebanese question was put to the test. Then American leaders in particular began to show a great deal of concern regarding this question, and it appears that U.S. intervention, along with the efforts of our Arab brethren in Saudi Arabia, helped to bring about a solution.

[Question] We know that you are in favor of the Syrian initiative and favor a pan-Arab solution for Lebanon. Is this still your position, or has anything happened which has made you modify this position?

[Answer] In the past Syria has intervened in the interests of Lebanon, and we have told President Assad several times that it is not possible for anyone to accept random shelling of Beirut and Zahlah. Therefore we did not accept what happened and, of course, we feel that it is necessary for Syria to intervene in order for us to arrive at a final solution. This was said recently by His Excellency President Elias Sarkis. Not only is it necessary to make contacts with Syria. We should not forget the importance of making contacts with the other Arab countries. The reason for this is that Syria alone cannot solve the Lebanese crisis. Syria should intervene along with the other Arab countries, especially the countries of the Gulf--led by Saudi Arabia. At the present time I think that it is the Arab countries which will play the primary role.

[Question] Do you expect any good results from the coming meeting of the Arab Follow-Up Committee?

[Answer] I expect good results to come from it, but on two conditions: The cease-fire has to last until that time, and there must be an increase in mutual understanding among the Lebanese. You must remember what I said 2 or 3 years ago about "Lebanon's two wings--its Christian wing and its Muslim wing." This expression was also used by Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, according to news agencies which quoted him as saying: "Lebanon's concern is for both of its wings." In other words, he used exactly the same expression that I did. If mutual understanding between the Christians and the Muslims would increase, then I would be very optimistic that the meeting at the beginning of next month would bring considerable results.

[Question] In your opinion, what role can spiritual leaders play in striving to increase this mutual understanding?

[Answer] Of course, spiritual leaders influence all of the members of their communities. This is why I personally have wished to break the ice between the Christian and Muslim sects. Perhaps you recall that I am the first one who took it upon himself to visit the Mufti [religious leader of the Sunnis], the Imam [religious leader of the Shites], and the Shaykh al-'Aql [religious leader of the Druzes]. Then they, in turn, returned my visit. At that time I felt that it was not possible for us to remain cut off from our Muslim brothers. This is what it is possible for us, as men of religion, to do in order to give support to the idea of mutual understanding and a rapprochement between the various sects.

[Question] On the basis of this conviction, do you believe that the time has come to hold a summit meeting of spiritual leaders?

[Answer] We have already talked about it a great deal, and 3 years ago I was the first person to demand this. I asked the president himself to call such a meeting in the Presidential Palace because I believe that such a meeting could only be held by the president. The president's answer at that time was: "The time has not yet come for this." Today I believe that the time has come, but before we have a summit meeting of spiritual leaders there should be meetings among our responsible [secular] leaders who could provide the solution which we are not able to provide. Our role is restricted to that of guidance, moral support, the spreading of love and mutual understanding, and holding a dialogue. However it is not in our hands to provide the necessary political solution. This is in the hands of the political leaders of the various sects.

[Question] Do you not believe that simply holding a summit meeting of spiritual leaders, whenever or wherever it can be done, would help to promote a dialogue and accord among the Lebanese?

[Answer] The holding of a summit meeting of spiritual leaders might provide a general idea on how to improve the situation because when I sit down at the same table with one of my Muslim brothers we are both providing an example for the members of our sects. But this might have a long-term effect, and before this happens there should be contacts between the responsible [secular] leaders.

[Question] In other words you are in favor of having a political accord before a spiritual accord?

[Answer] It is easier to achieve a spiritual accord than it is to achieve a political accord.

[Question] Then why should it not precede the political accord?

[Answer] It might be beneficial, but we have tried this and have not succeeded. When we began to work on preparations for the summit meeting of spiritual leaders, it appeared to us that the thing that it was first necessary to do was to prepare for a summit meeting between political leaders before having one between spiritual leaders.

[Question] Did you discuss this matter during your recent visit with President Sarkis?

[Answer] No, we did not talk about a summit meeting between spiritual leaders. I included in the agenda for my trip abroad--especially the trip to the U.S. because the U.S. is such a great center of power. However we should not forget the influence of the Soviet Union and that of the Arab countries. We must also take them into consideration when we talk about the success of the National Accord.

[Question] In the first statement which you made after you returned from abroad you were very optimistic. Is this optimism based on facts or on expectations?

[Answer] I believe that I said that this optimism was based on what I had particularly sensed during my contacts with American leaders because when the Zahlah crisis occurred it was necessary for intervention to take place. When I said that I was optimistic, I was basing that on the concern which I sensed on the part of the U.S. and some of the Arab countries to bring about a solution, once and for all, to the Lebanese problem. This is why my optimism is warranted, and I have high hopes that the cease-fire will remain in effect till the end of this month and until we are sure that the Arab Follow-Up Committee will hold its meeting. But, as I have indicated, the matter is not settled because it is possible that other events might influence the situation and change the current status of matters.

[Question] Do you think that there is a particular point in time when the Lebanese crisis will be solved?

[Answer] At the beginning of this year I said that this would be "the year of the solution to the Lebanese crisis." But now I can no longer assert this because many other events have occurred which have influenced the situation that we are experiencing here and in the whole area. So there has been a lot of progress, but we still have not reached the final solution.

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NATIONAL MOVEMENT MEMBER ISSUES STATEMENT ON SECURITY MEASURES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 2 Nov 81 p 4

[Article: "Muhsin Ibrahim Tells AL-SAFIR after His Meeting with Walid Junblatt, 'Security Measures Will Determine Future of National Political Battle; the Public Is Invited To Conduct a Harsh Examination of Party Leaders' "]

[Text] The executive secretary general of the Central Political Council of the National Movement announced that the security measures which will be implemented starting today in the national districts will determine the outcome of the national political battle. He said the public was invited to conduct a harsh examination of party leaders.

Ibrahim had met with Walid Junblatt, the chairman of the Political Council last Saturday night. He gave AL-SAFIR the following statement:

"The meeting was an opportunity for discussing all the questions that have to do with joint national action: the continuing political campaign against corruption in the method of government and in government; the executive measures that are necessary to achieve political, organizational, military and security unity among the parties of the National Movement's Central Political Council; the implementation of decisions by secretary generals in this regard; steps that were begun to unify action among all the feuding organizations on the national scene without exception; a plan of action to establish the universal national front for rescue in maximum speed; and the security measures which will be implemented, it has been agreed, starting today, Monday, 2 November 1981."

Ibrahim added, "Despite the importance of all the aforementioned questions, I wish to pause at the question of security measures which the Supreme Coordinating Committee and the national security agencies have agreed to. In this regard I do not exaggerate if I say that these security measures will determine the very essence of the destiny of the national political battle. This battle which is being fought with Fascism and with Israel, both of which are supported by the United States, is placing on the shoulders of Lebanese nationals tremendous burdens the likes of which no other people are enduring today.

"As long as this is the case with our steadfast, patient nationals, we may not at all place additional burdens on them by neglecting our minimum social obligations to them. We may not continue to stand by and watch the deteriorating security situation on our scene and the excesses that accompany this deterioration and affect the security and dignity of citizens. This resurging and recurring fighting among national organizations must make us realize that none of these organizations will be granted the legal right to bear arms unless each organization uses its weapons against the Israeli enemy and the Zionist separatist plan. These organizations do not have the right to use weapons against each other and make innocent citizens pay the price of individual thoughtlessness or sectarian organizational partisanship."

Ibrahim said, "The national masses did not in the past and will not in the future stand with the Fascist Phalangists who are clients of Israel and subordinate to the United States. Instead, they struggled, and they are still prepared to struggle behind their national leaders who are fighting to save Lebanon from the danger of this Zionist Fascism. However, these leaders will not be able to win the battle with tired masses who lack the minimum [sense of] personal and collective security. Along with security, they lack the essentials of civilized life: a methodical course and cleanliness. In addition, they are suffering deprivation as a result of the disorder that is taking place in public utilities in the national districts: water, electricity, telephone and roads. All this is in the context of spiraling high prices and the beginning of action by the state to stop providing social services that are indispensable to citizens."

He went on to say, "Hence arises the extraordinary importance of the security measures whose implementation, it has been decided, will begin today, Monday, 2 November 1981. If these measures will be confined in the first week to removing all forms of outside armed conduct and intensifying the presence of the Arab deterrent forces in West Beirut and on the southern shores of al-Matn, then by the beginning of the second week these measures must, on the one hand, become more comprehensive and, on the other hand, more radical. Otherwise, they will collapse quickly. It is required that these measures cover all Lebanese national districts. What is also required is a shift from removing evident, outside armed conduct to removing the armed presence which is concealed inside cities and heavily populated subdivisions. This can be done by collecting all light weapons from all the members of parties and organizations and actually giving these weapons to responsible officials. It would thus no longer be possible for any individual incident to turn into a vicious fight between organizations at any moment. This can also be done by moving the warehouses where ammunition and heavy weapons are stored from the populated areas to areas where they can no longer pose a threat to the safety of citizens.

"What is required after that is that a broad campaign be launched by the Arab deterrent forces to confiscate all the guns that are out on the Lebanese scene for no reason. Owners of these guns are to be restrained. Groups that violate the dignity of citizens and attack their sources of living are to be eliminated. These groups were inherited from the Deuxieme



Bureau and from the supporters of a few broken down political leaders. After that an atmosphere of assurance is to be spread [among the people] so that no merchant, organization owner or citizen would dare complain against the incidents and commissions whose prevalence today we know too well [sic?].

"It is required that all this be accompanied by volunteer action which is to be undertaken by the fighters of the party and of organizations in cooperation with the masses which must be organized into committees and popular councils in their subdivisions so that civilian life can be organized. They are to ensure parking for cars, direct traffic and [oversee] the cleanliness of the streets of the capital and all other areas. Although some people view these functions with disdain, we consider them the backbone of the battle for national destiny.

"What is finally required is to find a quick cure for the illegal transgressions on private and public property. Confiscated buildings are to be returned to their owners, and the conditions of emigres are to be carefully scrutinized to ensure the actual emigre's right for housing and prevent those who pretend to be emigres from unlawfully taking possession of other people's homes. Buildings that are illegally constructed on other people's property everywhere in the capital and in its subdivisions and in all areas of Lebanon are to be removed. Solutions necessary to ensure the interests of salesmen, small merchants and car drivers are to be found by providing them with alternative places."

Ibrahim said, "If this course of security and social action which is required from parties and national organizations represents their minimum duties in this regard, this does not imply that the government is to be relieved of its responsibilities. The government must rather [join forces] with this volunteer national action in the campaign whose purpose is to correct the socio-economic course with regard to the national districts so as to relieve them of the double nightmare of deprivation and exploitation."

He added, "The purpose of our emphasis today on these questions of security and living is to shore up popular support for the national political battle. In addition, this will restore to the citizen some of his rights which had been squandered. All leaders must realize that their success in controlling security in the national districts and in providing necessary social services to citizens will determine their destiny as well as the destiny of their political battle. To ensure this success, we invite the masses who are committed to their national cause to conduct a harsh examination of their party leaders, just as we call upon ourselves and all leaders to arm ourselves with the courage to express a truthful opinion and with the daring to uncover any excess that is committed, regardless of who may be standing behind it or what may be the sensitive considerations that accompany it."

A Coalition of Committees

On the other hand the Coalition of Committees and People's Leagues

announced its full support for the implementation of the security measures. The coalition considered "adherence to basic principles to be required for the success of these measures."

In a statement issued yesterday the coalition stipulated that the success of these measures requires that they be applied to all without exception or discrimination. This is to be accompanied by political mobilization and publicity within all the armed organizations based on uncovering every person who commits excesses or does harm. This is also based on the absolute rejection of the use of weapons in conducting relations between organizations on the national scene."

As a condition for the successful implementation of the security measures, the coalition also called upon "authorized security agencies to impose penalties on violators and criminals. Assigning any practical security tasks to the internal security forces is to be preceded by moving the operations room to the western district so that the operations room would not be subject to the wishes of the militias. Division 103 which is led by Phalangist Officer Nadim Abu Latif is not to be charged with any security tasks."

The coalition also stipulated that "authorized security agencies take immediate measures for receiving complaints from citizens. National leadership agencies are to use publicity in the media as a form of applying moral pressure on all those who provide political cover for violations."

#### The Working People

The Political Bureau of the Alliance of the Working People's Forces issued a statement about the application of the new security measures. The statement called upon "all the armed national organizations to proclaim among themselves a national agreement of honor that pertains to regulating weapons carried by nationals according to the following rules:

--Every organization is to request from every applicant who leaves one organization to join another a statement clearing him of all responsibilities.

--Any harmful member who uses his weapons for personal reasons is to be expelled from the organization.

--The seats of corruption and monopolies are not to be protected.

--Fighters are to be re-educated; reconciliations between organizations are to be encouraged; and individual differences are not to be turned into party struggles.

--Conflicts are to be settled by democratic means; extortion is to be stopped; the confiscation of people's property is to be stopped; and arbitrary arrests are to be stopped.

## LEBANON

### RECENT STATEMENTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS ANALYZED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 1 Nov 81 p 15

[Article by Joseph Samahah: "The 57th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Communist Party: Enthusiasm and Reserve"]

[Text] In the last few days the Lebanese Communist party celebrated the 57th anniversary of its establishment. The celebrations which were prevalent in many areas of Lebanon culminated in a central rally that was held in the town of Barja al-Shufiyah.

It goes without saying that the communist party knows how to organize its activities and that its record in this regard is one of remarkable accuracy.

The pace of debates, festivals, soirees and celebrations continued to increase in a matter of days, and they were rounded off in the central rally.

Amidst these secondary and minor activities regional questions were raised in Wadi Abu Jumayyil, in al-Tariq al-Jadidah, in al-Ramlah al-Bayda' and in al-Bastah. Questions about Beirut were raised in al-Zahiriyah, al-Tarbi'ah, al-Tall, al-Qubbah, Jabrayil and ('Andaqat). Questions about the north were raised, and questions about the south topped the concerns [people had] about what happened in Rashiya Valley. In addition to these questions Lebanese and Palestinian speakers, who addressed [the audience] successively, touched upon what was happening in Lebanon and referred to the stage the Arab nation was going through.

Just as these activities were rounded off in a central rally, these discussions were also rounded off the keynote address which was delivered in Barja by a member of the party leadership, Nadim 'Abd-al-Samad.

The address summarized and coordinated everything that was raised in the districts, and it included [these subjects] in the context of the general campaign of demands. The address linked the general campaign of demands with the state's policy in other areas, establishing a linkage between all this and new conditions on the Arab scene, from the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat to Prince Fahd's plan.

The keynote address defined the central functions of the struggle and called upon the party to assume the burdens of these functions under the rubric of unequivocal slogans which cannot be discussed in this context.

But what is noticeable is the fact that the central rally was primarily a party rally. It is true that it took place in the presence of certain leaders, but what attracts attention, when we compare this rally with previous ones, is the fact that it took place in the absence of certain Lebanese and Palestinian leaders. The rally was also to a certain extent a southern rally. The coice of Barja and the address of Mustafa Ma'rut Sa'd are indications of the direction the party's interest is taking at this stage.

It is true that the rally was primarily a party rally and a southern rally. This, however, is not an adequate indication of the fact that the role of the party is diminishing in the areas and in the agencies of joint national action.

It is true that for a while the Lebanese Communist party has been falling back somewhat and that this may have affected some of the party's choices on speakers, location and attendance [at the rally], but it is more correct [to say that] this falling back, which raises questions that remain unanswered, does not actually appear to be eroding support for the party which has proven that it knows how to choose its spokesman within the "general national family."

The celebrations for the party's anniversary comprised many Muslim and Christian areas. However, this fact was not able to conceal the significant demographic change which the party has been undergoing for years. To determine this change, it is enough to look at the names of those who spoke and the locations of the celebrations; we do not have to talk about attendance.

To determine this it would also be enough to scrutinize some of the party's propositions. The party says, "There are deprived districts" and "privileged districts"--and so on, districts with everything and everyone in them.

Naturally, deprived districts are the national districts.

This incorporation is neither fortunate nor accurate. The area of the national districts does not coincide exactly with the area of the deprived districts unless we consider the barren areas and shores of Jubayl, the shores of Kasrawan and al-Matn and the evacuees in the eastern suburb--even though they took the place of other evacuees--to be privileged.

Although they may not be in national districts, they are most certainly in deprived ones, and a formula for addressing them must be found. Such a formula would go beyond the ideological appeal which is governed by numerous concerns among which that of addressing all of Lebanon and taking the contrast in Lebanon's political future into consideration is not to be found.



It seems that party leaders had some sense of this shortcoming, and they tried to respond to it by referring to the fact that the party was established by "intellectuals, workers and civil servants from all sects and ethnic groups" (Sa'd Allah Mazra'ani, AL-NIDA' editorial, Saturday, 24 October). But in saying so they ignored--more likely deliberately--the fact that those who established the party were principally Maronite Christians and that, without exception, they were all Christians.

Why then cover up all this with a public talk when the party can boast about that, demonstrating in this manner its organic relationship with Christian workers, Christian toilers and with Christians who are deprived in either national districts or in other districts.

What harm is there in that? Why isn't it mentioned in a talk which would suggest that all Lebanese people celebrated the anniversary of the party? This is what we are hoping for with the communist command. For this, one resorts to a tone that is stirring, moving and resounding.

"Long live the Lebanese districts, the brides of heroes!" (AL-NIDA' 27 October). All generations, all popular groups, all forces and all national and social authorities came together. Would it not have been better to say a majority of them?

This enthusiasm does not at all provide maximum precision in some expressions and terms, especially where precision is imperative and its political consequences are serious.

In its 24 October issue AL-NIDA' said, "On the threshold of a new year the communists are renewing their pledge to continue the battle in the heart of the National Movement, in the heart of the liberation movement in our Arab region and beside the honest forces of steadfastness." The terms, "in the heart of" and "beside" constitute calculated political rhetoric. Had the former flow of enthusiasm continued, such rhetoric could have been replaced by the expressions, "led by" or "headed by."

But this precision sometimes goes further and becomes exaggeration, if not reserve that is absolutely unjustifiable.

Why does Sa'd Allah Mazra'ani speak about the communist party in his editorial as "a leading party that is guided by Marxism-Leninism?" Why does Nadim 'Abd-al-Samad in his keynote address affirm that the communist party "is guided by Marxism-Leninism as a method of thought and a guide for action?" Would it not have been better to say that the party "adopts" Marxism-Leninism since this is an actual fact, well-known to all and recorded in party documents?

Reserve here may be out of place. Along with that, a moderate general tone would have been better. It was not necessary to turn Marxism into only a guide--as long as this is not fact--to make up for the enthusiasm in another area.



A better area for controlling this enthusiasm may have been a reduction of these "willful" appeals with which the addresses of all those who spoke abounded. The speakers talked about the conspiracy and the need to foil it, and they laid out the required tasks. But this was done without adequate reference to the conditions and difficulties of the struggle; to the current balance of powers; to how that balance of powers may be interfered with and changed; and to how the slogans of the struggle can be linked with all that.

Naturally these observations do not extend to the party's course, its program or its courses of action. This would be done elsewhere. The purpose of these observations is to do no more than register a few ideas which do not affect what we believe at all. Sa'd Allah Mazra'ani said it best:

"It is difficult to talk about change without them, the communists; it is difficult to talk about patriotism without their colors; and it is difficult to talk about the unity of ranks and powers without their programs, their initiatives, their contributions and their martyrs."

It is absolutely true that the communist presence makes the left more leftist and gives it an additional popular dimension. This is an indication of the fact that democracy lives and thrives. It gives pluralism its serious character.

It may be that one of the conditions for developing that statement lies in something articulated also by Sa'd Allah Mazra'ani: "The communists made a mistake and corrected their error." They are then capable of making mistakes. That admission does not weaken them. On the contrary, it continues to make them stronger. This is what every nationalist and every progressive socialist wishes.

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# VARIOUS POLITICAL LEADERS EXPRESS VIEWS ON MAJOR DOMESTIC ISSUES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 1 Dec 81 pp 3, 10

/Article by Muwaffaq Madani: "Summary of the 'Antagonists' Dialogue' with 11 Politicians and Leaders on 11 issues regarding Reconciliation: The Majority Supports the 14 Principles and Holds the Government Responsible for the Failure To Carry Them out"/

/Text In the course of 9 consecutive days, on the pages of AL-SAFIR, 11 leaders and politicians from various factions and activist groups took part in a "dialogue with the antagonists" in which they responded to 11 questions on the Lebanese crisis and the solution--when and how?

From the beginning, the notion of a "dialogue with the antagonists" was not unencumbered by doubts that it would be fully carried out in the manner AL-SAFIR hoped for, in service of the goal it had set out, which was to have a dialogue of benefit if not to the people taking part in it, or taking part as intermediaries, then to the ordinary citizen who has been ground down by the war for which there is as yet no initiative to indicate the time or nature for a solution.

The chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, Kamil al-As'ad, who is not one of the antagonists, considered that the questions were not totally unembarrassing to the political leaders to whom they were presented.

/Former Premier Dr Salim al-Huss expressed his doubt that this kind of journalistic and political project could be thorough because the people who ought to be responsive to it might not be, or even if they were AL-SAFIR might not be able to bear the burdens of answers which might depart from every rule and red line and the country might not endure them, on grounds that this kind of step can never bring about a reconciliation through the press if serious political efforts cannot achieve it.

The executive secretary general of the National Movement, Muhsin Ibrahim, described the dialogue as a good event, especially in terms of "timing," since the National Movement has something new to say in it in the context of new circumstances and new dimensions. He expressed doubts that AL-SAFIR would receive a response from the other side through this attempt.

Meanwhile, Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil expressed his fear that AL-SAFIR would not protect this "achievement" and its objectivity, giving everyone who had something to say his full right to declare what he wanted, even if that violated its political "line."

Meanwhile, /former/ premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh described this dialogue as tantamount to the preparation of a Lebanese working paper, presented to the politicians and activists, although via the press this time, and said that the country would benefit from it in current attempts at reconciliation in order to break through the state of political silence and paralysis.

What, however, was the conclusion of this indirect dialogue?

In what follows, we will try to offer a comprehensive review of the views, opinions and stands presented, in the form of a document on AL-SAFIR's part, summarizing the statements made for the reader and for everyone who did or did not take part in this dialogue.

In this final product, which deals with each question separately, we have aimed at presenting the points that have been agreed to or disputed over in the answers, while naming the names of groups and movements and recording points of political differences on major positions which constitute the focal points of the crisis, referring to new points in positions, views and stances, and proceeding from that, some observations on which each separate group agrees, as is supposed, or has different or conflicting opinions.

In a context of total objectivity regarding this activity, we have avoided giving any opinions or commenting on the positions of the parties, leaving that to another occasion when AL-SAFIR's pages will be open to everyone to respond, criticize, analyze or offer opinions.

It is from the objectivity of this achievement and idea that this light is being cast.

#### 1. Separating the Two Crises

The answers to this question did not constitute a united position in terms of political premises or the possibility of reaching a common national denominator on ways to solve the problem of the connection between the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East crisis.

The answers, in particular, revealed that deep political differences continue to exist on viewing the subject of the connection between the two crises, and how to solve it.

Just from the standpoint of principle, the answers of the 11 persons broke down into three groups. Five persons believed that it was probable that the two crises were intertwined although there was a difference in views on the nature of this intertwined relationship. These were Kamil As'ad, Camille Chamoun, Rashid Karami, Dr Salim al-Huss and Nabih Barri.

Three persons believed that the two crises might be separate, although their views differed on the circumstances resulting in that. They were /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah, Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, and Deputy August Bakhus.

Three persons directly or indirectly ventured that it was not possible to separate the two crises. They were Walid Jumblatt, Muhsin Ibrahim and /Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh.

However, from the political standpoint, the answers fell into two basic positions:

The first one considered that the Palestinian cause, or the Arab-Israeli struggle, was the basis for the connection between the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East crisis. Most of the answers corresponded on this position, although they differed on how to present the solutions, as regarded the coexistence or separate or related nature /of these two crises/.

The second one considered that the issue was related to the security of Lebanon, viewed from the standpoint of the Syrian presence and the Palestinian presence. The Lebanese Front held to this position although there were differences between /Former/ President Camille Chamoun and Bashir al-Jumayyil.

Herewith is a review of the positions on this point, in order of the publication of the answers, along with a brief record of observations on the differences among answers:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The Israeli challenge has Lebanon and the Palestinian cause as its target and that means that the Lebanese crisis is linked to the Middle East crisis.

His warning that the solution to the crisis in the Middle East be at Lebanon's expenses is distinctive in that a just peace should be attained in the Middle East through the survival of Lebanon.

He embraces the principle that the two can coexist. He holds that the possibility of Lebanon's standing on its two feet/must be realized/before the Middle East crisis is solved.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

The causes of the connection between the two crises were the conduct of officials, especially the foreign minister, over the last 5 years, and the people who deal with Israel.

He calls for a separation between the two crises. That can occur by having the legitimate authorities to the conspiracy, forcefully stand up with the aid of the noble Lebanese and the Arabs, strike out at the heads of the conspiracy, and rebuild the state and its institutions, especially the military and security institutions.

Walid Jumblatt:

/He holds that/ it is impossible to separate the two crises, because of the factor of nationalism and the questions of reform in the political system.

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

/He embraces/ the principle that they can exist side by side. There is no relationship between the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East crisis.

He calls for the Lebanese issue to be remedied by expelling the Syrians. It is not necessary that the Palestinian issue be resolved for the Lebanese issue to be resolved.

Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil:

He believes in the possibility of separating /the two/. He believes that the reason for the connection is Lebanon's security and that breaking the connection between the two crises can come about through Syria's abandonment of the dream of incorporating Lebanon and the Palestinians' abandonment of the settlement process. In brief, he commends five measures:

1. Withdrawal of the Syrians.
2. Regulation of the Syrian presence.
3. Application of the Arab Followup Committee decree on the subject of prohibiting the introduction of weapons.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

He believes that it is impossible to separate the two, in view of the Arab-Israeli struggle and national ties to Lebanon.

His position is distinctive in that he claims that a distance must be placed between the two crises:

1. The Phalange should give up its plan to Zionize Lebanon.
2. The national plan calling for Arabization, that is, linking Lebanon to Arab national interests, should be made to prevail.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

He embraces the principle that the two crises can exist side by side, while appealing for Lebanon to live in stability and security while it is linked to the national issues of the region and participates in its struggle, especially with the Palestinian cause.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

It is impossible to separate /the two/ because the reason for or the connection between the two crises is the dispute between Moslems and Christians over the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.



The possibility for separating the two crises is contingent on the establishment of a Palestinian state. However, such a solution will be difficult because /other/ nations are not helping to solve the Palestinian question and thus the Lebanese question.

Deputy August Bakhus:

One can separate /them/. The reason the two crises are linked is the Palestinian issue. Therefore it is necessary to carry out the resolutions issued by Arab summits and put the Lebanese working paper into practice.

He adheres to the principle that they can exist side by side. He calls for a connection to be made between the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East crisis, because it is difficult to separate the two, owing to the Palestinian issue. This connection can be made on a basis of Lebanese-Palestinian reconciliation.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

His position is distinguished by pointing to the numerous attempts made in the last 7 years of the crisis' history to separate the crisis of Lebanon from that of the Middle East that have nonetheless failed.

He believes in the principle that the two can exist side by side and appeals for the Lebanese crisis to be connected with the Middle East crisis until the Palestinian issue obtains its share of a just comprehensive solution. The ingredients of this interlinkage are:

1. Liberation of the border strip and execution of international resolutions.
  2. A unified position with the Palestinian resistance on execution of the agreements.
  3. Rectification of the condition of the Lebanese army, enforcement of a security plan and resuscitation of the democratic process.
2. Dealing with Israel

The answers to this question fell into two positions:

The first considers the statement by Bashir al-Jumayyil and the Lebanese Front's affirmation of it to be inadequate unless it is accompanied by practical steps or the consolidation of trust, although the answers varied in evaluating this step, the Coastal Oversight Commission measures and the presentation of solutions.

The second considers that Bashir al-Jumayyil's statement and the Lebanese Front's affirmation of it are an issue that has been settled and will not admit of interpretation or exegesis.

The Lebanese Front expressed this position through /Former/ President Camille Chamoun and Bashir al-Jumayyil.

Herewith is a summary review of the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The issue of dealing /with Israel/, in principle, cannot be settled by statements, recommendations, political positions, or whatever.

His position is distinguished in that he says "if there is anyone who has dealings"--that is, he does not confirm that anyone does. He also goes beyond the Coastal and Harbor Oversight Commission and calls for the establishment of a state that can impose punishments and rewards and enforce laws on agents /of foreign powers/.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

Settling the dealings with Israel will not come about by statements.

He called for the security forces (the deterrent forces, the army, and the domestic security forces) to apply the law to all Lebanese territory, ports and coasts without exception, on grounds that they are a legitimate security unit.

Walid Jumblatt:

The statement is inadequate, although it does constitute a step.

He calls for practical steps because "we do not trust them, just as they do not trust us."

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

The statement does not need interpretation or exegesis.

He calls for a step to follow the statement on ending dealings by calling for the gradual withdrawal of Syrian forces from the capital, its suburbs and Zahlah so that a final withdrawal can take place.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

The statement has been settled by the Arab Followup Committee.

He calls for the execution of the resolutions of the Arab Followup Committee on land and on sea, especially regarding the Syrian and Palestinian parties.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

His position is distinctive in that he considers this issue related to choice and conviction on the part of the people conducting the dealings.

He calls for the Oversight Committee to be installed on all coastal points because that will restore trust to the National Movement and the Lebanese Front. After

that, he considers that the government must venture on the process of political reform.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

He agrees with the Arab Followup Committee that the statement is a positive step along the road to a resolution of this matter.

He is in favor of having the work of the Coastal and Harbor Oversight Commission carried out; this depends on the credibility of the parties.

Deputy August Bakhus:

This step requires mutual trust.

His position is distinguished by rejecting the Coastal Oversight Commission. He calls for a just regime and a capable army. The army should be the one to conduct oversight over the borders and ports.

Nabih Barri:

The statement is a desirable step and it must be followed through.

His position is distinguished by raising the issue of severing the dealings between Sa'd Haddad and Israel. He supports the Coastal Oversight Commission, except for the land ports, and considers that the legitimate forces should oversee those.

### 3. The 2 April Situation

The majority called for the lines of contact in the capital of Beirut to be opened from the harbor to al-Shiyah.

However, on the reason why the thoroughfares continued to be closed, the answers differed. They also differed in respect to solutions and were at variance on who was responsible for the continued state of affairs along the lines of contact.

Essentially, the answers were concentrated on ways of dealing with security conditions along the lines of contact to a degree that went beyond the details presented in the question.

The conspicuous point in the answers is the fact that the positions were basically broken down into two demands:

The first was the demand by the National Movement and /Former/ President Rashid Karami that the army be withdrawn from the lines of contact, because it protected Bashir al-Jumayyil and because he took part in the latest battles.

The second was the demand by Bashir al-Jumayyil alone that the Syrian-Palestinian liberation army be withdrawn, because the Syrians were the ones responsible for the continued closure of the thoroughfares.

A number of persons' answers dealt with a new point, the appeal that a political agreement precede any security measures along the lines of contact. However, the objectives in such an agreement differed as phrased by Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, Walid Jumblatt, Bashir al-Jumayyil, /Former/ Premiers Rashid Karami and Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh, and August Bakhus.

Herewith is a review of the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

Before the thoroughfares are opened it will be necessary to prevent political flareups and security blowups.

He calls for a security plan for opening all thoroughfares.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

He calls for all lines of contact to be opened.

His position is distinguished in calling for the measures to be enforced through the use of force by the legitimate powers (the deterrent forces, the army and the internal security forces).

Walid Jumblatt:

The discussion must not be confined to opening thoroughfares. It must also deal with the whole Lebanese crisis.

He accuses Bashir al-Jumayyil of being protected by the army along the lines of contact and /says that/therefore a political solution must be reached which will eliminate all obstacles.

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

He demanded that Syrian forces be withdrawn from the capital and suburbs.

Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil:

He appeals for a restoration of all the lines of contact to their pre-13 April 1975 status.

He considers that opening thoroughfares will not require a security force but rather a political decision on the withdrawal of the Syrian-Palestinian army and the unbroken distribution of Lebanese security forces along the lines of contact from the harbor to al-Shiyah.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The National Movement plan should be presented to the Arab Followup Committee. It calls for:

1. Opening all lines of contact.

2. Withdrawing all armed persons into the hinterland of the two areas and putting the utilities into operation.

3. Withdrawing the army units from the lines of contact because they took part in the fighting.

He holds the president responsible for diminishing the National Movement plan, because he was opposed to it.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

He believes that the contradictions /among factions/ are behind the reasons for the continued crisis of the thoroughfares.

He demands that President Ilyas Sarkis resume his role in the Arab Followup Committee and calls for the withdrawal of the army on grounds that it took part in fighting on the lines of contact, while the Arab deterrent forces and the internal security forces should take charge of security tasks in these areas.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

He is in favor of opening all lines of contact.

That will require an agreement among the parties, Lebanese-Syrian agreement, and the designation of qualified security forces.

Deputy August Bakhus:

The fact that the thoroughfares have not been opened may be ascribed to a lack of trust.

He demands that trust be restored among Lebanese parties and that there be coordination with Syria and cooperation with the Palestinians.

Nabih Barri:

He is in favor of opening all lines of contact from the harbor to al-Shuwayfat.

He recommends that the deterrent forces go to the western section and the internal security forces to the eastern section, and has no objection to use of a part of the army in the inner eastern section.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

His position is distinguished by holding that there is no alternative to an army that can assume its tasks in all locations.



He recommends that army personnel be removed and put under the command of the internal security forces in order to expand the security tasks.

#### 4. The Structure of the Army

Four of the 10 persons who answered the question stated that it was necessary to eliminate factionalism in the army by inculcating a spirit of enmity toward the basic enemy, which is Israel, in it.

These persons were /former/ Premier Rashid Karami, Walid Jumblatt, Muhsin Ibrahim and Nabih Barri.

What merits consideration in the responses is the self-criticism the National Movement presented for the first time in the responses by its chairman, Walid Jumblatt, and the executive secretary, Muhsin Ibrahim, concerning its position on the demands for a national balance in the army, and a consequent shift in its position with a call for the first time to eliminate factionalism in the army.

The positions on the army were in general broken down into four points of view:

1. The insistence by the National Movement and the two /former/ premiers Rashid Karami and Dr Salim al-Huss on not assigning any security tasks to the army.
2. Rejection by Chairman Kamil al-As'ad of proposals for balance, accreditation and sound and proper bases, considering that the criterion for the army's situation should lie in its performance. His position is thus distinguished from that of the government and the parties.
3. Adherence by Bashir al-Jumayyil and Deputy August Bakhus to the current composition of the army.

Herewith is a review of the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The accreditation of the army lies in how it performs its duties of protecting the country without depending on one group at the expense of another.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

A change in the current army command.  
Performance of military service.

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

He did not answer the question.

Walid Jumblatt:

He criticized the National Movement's position on the national balance in the army because it is opposed to our demand that political factionalism be eliminated.

It is necessary to review the current army law and establish an army which is not factional by eliminating factionalism within it.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

Syria rejects the establishment of the army so that it can keep its forces in Lebanon. The opposition does not have the structure of the army as its goal but the army's mission.

He accepts the army that exists.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The dispute has brought us the slogan of national balance.

He rejected assigning security missions to the army and rejected giving it accreditation.

/He wants/ the army to be built on the following bases:

1. A defense policy specifically inimical to Israel.
2. The elimination of political factionalism.
3. Application of the draft.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

He emphasises Premier Shafiq al-Wazzan's position that the current army is unusable and he also emphasizes that the army is an instrument by which the authorities can extend their sovereignty.

He demands:

1. A defense policy that defines for the army who its enemy is.
2. The elimination of factionalism in the army.
3. The draft.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

He lays stress on the Islamic Grouping's position on the army question and the need to build an army on sound, proper bases.

It should be dominated by a spirit of national commitment based on enmity toward Israel.

Deputy August Bakhus:

The demand for national balance has turned the army, like the government, into something resembling a council of ethnic groups.

He demands that the army submit to the orders given it by the political administration.

Nabih Barri:

He stresses the distinctive nature of the AMAL movement's position on the army as compared with that of the National Movement and the Lebanese Front, and demands that a powerful national army be established.

He demands the elimination of factionalism in the army.

The standard governing the army should be resistance to the enemy.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

The army, in its current state, is not qualified to take over security missions.

His position is distinguished by criticism of the latest government measures, on grounds that people who ought to have been released were promoted and that a system was approved that preserved the disruption in the army structure and failed to establish extensive formations among officers based on the Defense Law.

## 5. The South

In their answers the "antagonists" unanimously adopted the position that the southern and internal aspects of the solution to the Lebanese crisis as a whole could not be separated. Therefore the antagonists rejected any issue that might be raised to separate treatment of the southern crisis from that of the internal Lebanese crisis, or vice versa.

Six of the 11 persons rejected the United States of America's recommendation calling for an expansion of the emergency forces in the south. The stands taken ranged from total rejection to possible acceptance of agreement on condition that the expansion take place in the direction of the border strip, in order to put an end to Sa'd Haddad's statelet and the Israeli occupation, and that the expansion process not involve the areas where the Palestinian resistance is located.

These persons are Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah, Walid Jumblatt, Muhsin Ibrahim, and /Former/ Premiers Rashid Karami and Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh.

The positions fell into two attitudes as far as dealing with the situation in the south went:

The first brands Israel as the cause for obstructing the international resolutions and calls on the government and the Arabs to bear the responsibility for working toward /their/ execution.

The second: Bashir al-Jumayyil brands the Palestinian presence responsible for the obstacles in the south and /Former/ President Camille Chamoun calls for the deployment of the army.

Herewith is a summary review of the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

Solving the crisis of the south is the right approach for solving the Lebanese crisis, and vice versa.

He demands that the international resolutions be applied.

The international forces should be converted into deterrent forces.

Pressure should be put on Israel to withdraw.

Otherwise, a unified Arab position for confronting Israel should be taken.

He rejects an expansion of the emergency forces if the border strip remains occupied, and he considers that the problem lies in the fact that the authorities are absent. He does not consider that there is a contradiction between Lebanese and Palestinian interests, since the cause is the same.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

He rejects the American recommendation to expand the emergency forces because it will guarantee Israel's security.

He demands that the government assert its presence by expanding its authority.

The south should be considered an Arab responsibility.

The pro-American Arab countries should put pressure on America to end the perverse situation along the borders.

Walid Jumblatt:

He demands that the international resolutions be carried out.

The expansion of the emergency forces is not feasible unless the expansion takes place in the direction of the border strip.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has the right to be afraid of the expansion proposal.

He draws attention to the weak point consisting of the al-Nabtiyah-Jazzin axis, through which Israel might expand.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

The question of the south will be resolved only if the Beirut question is resolved.

The international forces have not benefited Lebanon, because they have turned into a barrier between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

The Palestinian presence is the obstacle in the south.

It is necessary that the territory in the south be kept free and Lebanese.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The question of the south is the direct and indirect occupation of the border strip.

The goal of the Israeli plan in the south is to impose a peace on Lebanon.

He demands that Lebanon's official and popular powers be mobilized about a position which considers that the southern question is a matter of Israeli occupation.

He rejects expanding the international forces because America wants to guarantee Israel's security and clean out the positions of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national presence.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

The Palestinian resistance has a special status and nothing in the international resolutions is opposed to it or its presence. He is against the position of power America is aiming for by the recommendations on expanding the international forces and removing armed persons to enhance Israel's security.

He accuses the regime of negligence because it has not taken serious stands to follow up on carrying out the resolutions that have been taken and save the south.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

The issue of the south is part of the whole, and resolving it will be contingent on resolving the general question.

He is against expanding the emergency forces if the objective is to paralyze the activity of the armed Palestinian struggle.

We support expansion of the international forces if they are to control the border strip.



Deputy August Bakhus:

Whether there is a state of war in the south or a state of relaxation among belligerents, everyone should contribute to expanding the international emergency forces.

Nabih Barri:

He warns against any attempt to separate the Lebanese crisis from the crisis in the south, because the latter is causing a conflagration in all of Lebanon.

He demands that the international resolutions be carried out.

International deterrent forces /are necessary/.

The international forces should encompass the border strip.

New agreements on a unified Arab strategy should be concluded with the resistance.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

There is no alternative to the international forces.

An ongoing attempt should be made to regain the border strip.

America should put pressure on Israel once the border strip is liberated, and this will require Arab pressure on America.

It is necessary to put the agreements with the resistance into operation.

Correcting the status of the army will lead to a security plan that embraces the south and the other areas.

## 6. The Presidential Campaign

In their replies, the 11 personalities did not anticipate an extension of President Ilyas Sarkis' term, although some of them did express a rejection of such a recommendation. All the answers indicated the expectation that the presidential elections would be held in 1982, and some of them ignored the plan to present a date, while some stressed that the elections should take place within the constitutional time limits. /Former/ Premier Rashid Karami referred to his suggestion that a recommendation be made on modifying the constitution, as was done the day President Sarkis was elected.

Five persons called for the next president to make it his mission to resolve the Lebanese crisis. These persons are Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, Walid Jumblatt, Bashir al-Jumayyil, /Former/ Premier Rashid Karami and Nabih Barri.

Some persons talked about the likelihood that an election campaign would take place in accordance with constitutional principles and the finding of the majority. These persons are /Former/ Presidents Camille Chamoun and Sulayman Franjiyah and Muhsin Ibrahim.

Some people appealed for prior agreement among deputies or among the parties to avert a campaign. /Former/ President Camille Chamoun and Nabih Barri were in agreement over that proposal.

The opinions were broken down into two contradictory stands:

1. Muhsin Ibrahim: We prefer maintaining the interests of the national ranks in 1982 through the National Salvation Front. The majority will elect a president. We are not concerned about Bashir al-Jumayyil's threat rejecting a "Babrak Karmal" or his threats to secede.

2. Bashir al-Jumayyil: We want a change in equations in accordance with the points the war has driven have, by refusing to have the government belong to the weak and the opposition to the strong. We will resist any president of the Babrak Karmal type.

In order to avoid the occurrence of a struggle or confrontation during the election of the president, Deputy August Bakhus presented a unique recommendation: that the National Movement choose a candidate and the Lebanese Front choose a candidate also, and that the process of electing the candidate be carried out by independents and by ballot.

Herewith is a review of the positions in brief:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

That 1982 should be the year for electing a new president of Lebanon is not just a constitutional achievement--it is an achievement embodying the will of the Lebanese people in their unity and their emergence from their suffering.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

Free democratic presidential elections should be carried out, as was the case with the elections to the chairmanship of the Chamber of Deputies.

Walid Jumblatt:

We do not want a Phalangist president and we do not want a Babrak Karmal. We want an impartial president who will bring Lebanon to the shores of peace, and the condition for his election is reform of the political system.

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

No dispute will keep the Lebanese from agreeing on a candidate, whether that is done by agreement among the deputies or in a free campaign.

Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil:

No to a president who will preside over crisis. We want a president who is set on a solution and we will resist any president of the Babrak Karmal type.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

We prefer maintaining the interests of the national ranks in 1982 through the National Salvation Front.

The majority will elect the president and we are not concerned about Bashir al-Jumayyil's browbeatings rejecting a Babrak Karmal or threats of secession.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

Our selection of a candidate will take place in accordance with the program and not the person. We insist on the proposal that the constitution be amended.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

We are in favor of the accession of a president in the constitutional context and in a sound atmosphere.

There will be an election of a new president because international and Arab bodies have no interest in causing a breakdown in Lebanon's legitimacy.

Deputy August Bakhus:

I recommend that the National Movement choose a candidate and that the Lebanese Front do likewise. Then we independents should take the initiative of making a choice through the ballot box.

Nabih Barri:

We are in favor of having the Chamber of Deputies summoned at the constitutionally stipulated time.

A reconciliation will be necessary in advance of the election of the president, coordination among the Lebanese, or a Moslem-Christian agreement on the nature of the president who is to take part in opening the door to national reconciliation.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

The next president will assume the form of the next stage.

There might be surprises, and why should the candidates declare their views?

## 7. National Reconciliation

The answers of the 11 persons produced no common denominators, even within each given group, on ways for arriving at reconciliation and determining the framework for it, except in the case of the National Movement, as expressed by its chairman, Walid Jumblatt, and its secretary general, Muhsin Ibrahim, on the need to reach political reconciliation before forming a government of the various activist groups.

Therefore the positions were broken down between the people supporting the 14 principles declared by the regime, in particular Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah and /Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss, and the people supporting a government of activist groups or a government of national union, with political reconciliation to precede or embrace it.

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad and /Former/ President Camille Chamoun had reservations about the activist groups and their role, while Bashir al-Jumayyil considered that reconciliation was frozen because of the Syrian presence in the western district.

Meanwhile, Walid Jumblatt considered that there was nothing to stand in the way of holding a dialogue outside Lebanon, while Muhsin Ibrahim and August Bakhus called for one to be held in Lebanon. Muhsin Ibrahim and Nabih Barri were in agreement that the Arab Followup Committee should take charge of the dialogue among the various activist groups, while Barri stipulated that that should be preceded by a Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian summit.

Herewith are the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

He is in favor of applying the 14 sections, provided that the authorities take charge of that.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

One should use the 14 sections as an initial premise.

Or use the salvation document I have announced.

Holding a dialogue among the various activist organizations is the duty of the government, and a dialogue among the groups should take place in the Chamber of Deputies.

Walid Jumblatt:

We demand that political settlement precede reconciliation, and that the latter precede a government of activist organizations.

/Former/ President Camille Chamoun:

The government should assume responsibility for reconciliation in the framework of the Chamber of Deputies in order to avoid disputes.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

When what I call the "Syrian terror" is removed from the western district, the Lebanese should meet unconditionally around the negotiating table.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

He is in favor of dialogue among activist groups in the presence of the Arab Follow-up Committee, on a basis where the Phalange will sever its dealings with Israel and the Christian representatives that are appointed will not be limited by Bashir al-Jumayyil, lest we be swindled.

We support a government of activist groups not as a framework for dialogue, but rather as a consequence of agreement to an integrated political solution.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

Reconciliation will no longer be possible in President Sarkis' term, so attention will have to be focussed on the successor.

He demands that a round table be held and a government of national union be formed.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

He is in favor of a government of activist groups carrying out a national reconciliation.

Deputy August Bakhus:

The climate is favorable for electing a president, to be followed by the formation of a competent government.

Nabih Barri:

He is in favor of a dialogue with activist groups to be run by the Arab Followup Committee, with the legitimate authorities attending.

The dialogue should be preceded by a Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian summit.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

He is in favor of reconciliation, proceeding from the 14 premises.

It is necessary to find a way out of the crisis before seeking a radical solution to it.

The way out will come through attainment of the following:

1. Reform of the army.
2. Presentation of a comprehensive security plan.
3. Revival of the democratic process.



## 8. Positions and Approaches

Five /sic/ out of the 10 persons who replied to this question agreed that the 1943 formula or the Islamic-Christian compact was the best formula for rebuilding Lebanon. These persons were Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiah, /Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh and Bashir al-Jumayyil.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss considered that the 1943 format could be developed according to Article 95 of the constitution, in the direction of eliminating factionalism, while the National Movement, in the person of its chief, Walid Jumblatt, and its secretary general, Muhsin Ibrahim, adhered to the tentative political reform program of the National Movement. Meanwhile Nabih Barri called for a commitment to the 14 premises although, in his response to another question, he agreed with the statement that the tentative National Movement program in which the AMAL movement has taken part is a fit point of departure for a solution.

The new point in /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiah's presentation concerns secularism, which he had previously presented in the salvation document, wherein he shared the opinion of Deputy August Bakhus, who also appealed for secularization.

Herewith is a summary review of the various positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The will for union can be expressed by the 1943 formula, and we are in favor of it.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiah:

He presented the salvation document, to be founded on the following bases:

1. The constitutional document.
2. The 1943 formula and the National Charter.
3. Secularism.

Walid Jumblatt:

I pause before the National Movement's tentative program and endorse the three basic subheadings--Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

Adherence to three principles:

1. Retention of the framework of the bilateral Islamic-Christian compact--which is now impossible, because of the presence of aliens.
2. Retention of Lebanon's geographical unity within its internationally recognized boundaries.
3. Retention of freedom and the guarantee of public freedoms.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The National Movement's tentative programs' commitment to its introduction and seven main subheadings will make it possible to build a democratic secular Arab Lebanon.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

One should confine oneself to the legitimate authority's rule which holds "let us cooperate on what we agree to and put what we disagree on to the side."

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

Islam's political position regarding the 1943 formula is practical, patriotic and fruitful.

Deputy August Bakhus:

If the various groups respond to the proposed new personal states law, I will waive what some people call privileges; even the presidency can rotate /among factions/.

Nabih Barri:

One must set forth from the 14 principles. There is no need for solutions imported from abroad, since they are not based on an understanding of the Lebanese situation.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

The 1943 formula was a factional one, but its preamble entailed a subsequent abrogation of factionalism, in accordance with Article 95 of the constitution. If the way out requires a factional settlement, the solution over the longer range will be based on the elimination of factionalism in politics, government positions, administration, the judiciary and the army.

#### 9. Where Do You See a Solution?

Five of 10 persons had reservations on or in one way or another rejected the external, foreign or Arab, initiatives and solutions proposed to Lebanon for resolving its crisis.

These persons were Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, Walid Jumblatt, Muhsin Ibrahim, /Former/ Premier Rashid Karami and Deputy August Bakhus.

A point worth noting is the new position Muhsin Ibrahim expressed, speaking for the National Movement; he rejected the 14 principles of reconciliation that the National Movement had previously agreed to, because time had overtaken them.

Bashir al-Jumayyil's position was distinguished by a declaration that he would smooth the way for foreign initiatives, be they Arab or foreign, while adhering to the Lebanese working paper presented to the Arab Followup Committee.

Herewith is a review of positions in brief:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The government must set forth its conception on the basis of the 14 subheadings, and carry them out.

Foreign countries do not have a proper understanding of the Lebanese situation.

Walid Jumblatt:

America has nothing to do with the Palestinian fighting man because it does not recognize the minimum level of Palestinian rights.

We object to the army which is obstructing the central government's imposition of its sovereignty over all Lebanon.

I call on the Lebanese to strengthen the National Movement and recognize their independent decisionmaking powers.

Let the French president, Francois Mitterrand, help us against his friends in Israel, in order to expel them from Juniyah and the south.

Some headings in the document of the constitution are acceptable because they are committed to the National Movement's tentative program and the Beau Rivage document.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

We have not stood in the way of a solution; we have given agreement to the 14 subheadings.

We have encouraged America to support the central government.

We have responded to the Libyan Jamahiriyah's appeal.

We have offered facilities for the Arab Followup Committee.

It is the Syrian party that has stood in the way of a solution.

The Lebanese working paper presented to the Arab Followup Committee embodies the draft solution to the 14 principles.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

We reject American plans for a solution as well as the French proposals.

The Syrian initiative, the Libyan initiative and the legitimate /authorities'/ initiative based on the 14 principles are actual attempts at and proposals for solutions.

We have agreed to the 14 principles, provided that they be followed by democratic reform, but now time has overtaken them. In addition they were formulated in the shape of generalities and we see no justification for separating reconciliation from political reform.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

With respect to the foreign initiatives, "nothing scratches your skin like your own fingernails so take charge of all your affairs yourself."

We Lebanese should come to agreement and the Arabs should help us.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

These initial points are all positive:

1. Support for the central government.
2. The Libyan call for mutual understanding.
3. The document of the constitution.
4. The 14 principles.

Deputy August Bakhus:

Foreign injections have caused us to become poisoned, and our country's interests are above all others.

Nabih Barri:

The National Movement's tentative program is a proper point of departure.

The Shiite Islamic Council's paper is still a /good/ basis.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

One must distinguish between a way out and a solution.

The way out is to reform the army.

#### 10. Lebanese-Palestinian Relations

Six out of the 10 persons who responded to the question adhered to preservation of the Cairo Agreement and the appendices to it.

These persons are Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah, Muhsin Ibrahim, /Former/ Premiers Rashid Karami and Salim al-Huss, and August Bakhus.

Nabih Barri's position was distinguished by the demand that the Cairo Agreement be abrogated and new agreements be signed which will maintain a continued armed Palestinian struggle, while Bashir al-Jumayyil demanded that the Palestinian resistance commit itself to the requirements of Lebanese sovereignty while not directly addressing himself to the fate of the agreements concluded with the resistance.

Walid Jumblatt proclaimed his adherence to the Cairo Agreement but pointed out that there were possibilities for introducing modifications into it. Muhsin Ibrahim warned against the introduction of modifications into the agreement without the National Movement's agreement, whereas /Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh supported the preservation of the agreements while pointing out that time had changed the conditions under which it was signed. /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah recommended that the Arab League, with the agreement of the Liberation Organization, draw up a statute on the basis of which the Palestinians would act in every Arab country.

Herewith is a summary review of the positions:

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

The Cairo Agreement still exists. We request that a new leaf be turned in regard to trust between the Lebanese and Palestinian parties.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

The Palestinian party must carry out the Cairo Agreement, because the Lebanese party has not refrained from doing so.

In the future the Arab League will have to draw up a unified statute, by agreement of the Liberation Organization, on the basis of which the Palestinians will act in all Arab countries.

Walid Jumblatt:

The agreements remain, though some changes could be made in them.

Bashir al-Jumayyil:

The basic ingredients of Lebanese-Palestinian relations:

1. A security truce. In the event one is made, FATH will have to commit itself to it and the other organizations will remain.
2. The Syrian slogan "protecting the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon" must be thwarted.



3. The resistance must be made to adhere strictly to the requirements of Lebanese sovereignty.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The Lebanese political solution must involve opening the file on Lebanese-Palestinian relations.

The official agreements between the authorities and the resistance must be the basis /for these relations/. There is no alternative to them.

Any change in agreements must receive the support of all Lebanese citizens.

/Former/ Premier Rashid Karami:

The agreements must be preserved in a manner guaranteeing the sovereignty of the state and the interests of the revolution.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

Every agreement must be carried out, though it should be noted that the day the Cairo Agreement was reached in 1969 we, as Lebanese and Palestinians, were in a different state from the one we are in now.

Deputy August Bakhus:

We are afraid that if we abrogate the agreements we will get lost in new quagmires.

Nabih Barri:

One must depart from the Cairo agreement and conclude new agreements.

Dr Salim al-Huss:

He is in favor of applying the agreements, while observing the international Security Council resolutions and the Arab summit resolutions, especially those of the Tunis summit.

# 11. Lebanese-Syrian Relations

The majority of the responses recorded agreement on the consideration that the issue of national security between Syria and Lebanon is the basic distinguishing feature of relations between the two countries, besides proximity and common interests.

Five persons did more than get into a presentation of detailed views on this issue, and concentrated on the call for a dialogue and frank talk in implanting clear, firm correct relations between the two countries.

These persons were Chairman Kamil al-As'ad, /Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah, Walid Jumblatt, and /Former/ Premiers Dr Salim al-Huss and Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh.

In particular, the positions the National Movement and the Lebanese Front held on this subject were broken down into two contradictory stands:

The first, expressed by Muhsin Ibrahim, concerned the reasons why the Syrian army operating within the Arab deterrent forces was an irreplaceable security instrument for protecting the national destiny of Lebanon.

These reasons were:

1. The fact that the Phalange plan had got out of control and that bonds of strategic alliance were forged between it and Israel.
2. The fact that the authorities, represented by the president, had been reluctant to face this grave state of affairs and it was subjected to the fraudulent conduct of Bashir al-Jumayyil.
3. The fact that the authorities had failed to hold a dialogue among groups from a position of impartiality and had been reluctant to impose a political solution.

The second was Bashir al-Jumayyil's demand for a Syrian withdrawal in accordance with what he called the six points he had presented to Brig Gen Muhammad al-Khuli, President Hafiz al-As'ad's special emissary.

These principles are:

1. The Lebanese army should proceed to occupy all armed forces positions.
2. Media campaigns should stop.
3. Lebanese legitimacy and sovereignty should gradually be extended over all Lebanese territory.
4. The armed Palestinian presence in the capital, suburbs, towns and residential areas should be outlawed.
5. Turning Lebanese territories into a source of danger to Syria should be prohibited.
6. The security treaty should be rejected.

Chairman Kamil al-As'ad:

Syria has a national right to tell Lebanon what it wants, and Lebanon has a right to tell Syria what it wants.

It is necessary to establish an atmosphere of liberalism and frankness on which Lebanese-Syrian relations can be founded.

/Former/ President Sulayman Franjiyah:

Lebanese-Syrian relations must be distinctive in terms of mutual trust, frankness, affection, brotherhood and respect.

Treaties, provisions and procedures should be rejected as a basis for Lebanese-Syrian relations.

Walid Jumblatt:

There has to be a clear resolution between Syria and Lebanon that takes into account Syrian security, the Israeli threat, the Phalangist threat, respect for every country's sovereignty and basic system, and the attainment of a flexible formula that will evolve with time.

Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil:

He is prepared to get in touch with any party without prior commitments or pre-conditions, if that will lead to a solution to the crisis.

We reject the security treaty, and the continued Syrian presence is the only danger.

Nabih Barri:

We demand: defense coordination to cope with Israel.

The codification of formulas to prevent conspiracies against Syria.

Economic integration.

Defense of the south.

A predetermined stand in the Arab League and the international context.

Cultural exchange.

This will require a unified government in Lebanon with a nationalist orientation, the elimination of legitimate Syrian fears that Lebanon will be used against it, and the elimination of the fears of some groups by reasserting sovereignty.

/Former/ Premier Salim al-Huss:

Trust and frankness are the basis of Lebanese-Syrian relations, since they have been shaken; the feeling of a common destiny will restore matters to their proper place.

Muhsin Ibrahim:

The Syrian army operating within the Arab deterrent forces, still is an irreplaceable security instrument and the Syrian role is still of importance in protecting the national destiny.

/Former/ Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh:

Political representation between the two countries has gone beyond the manifestation of distinctiveness in relations.

Syria's security arises from Lebanon's security, and vice versa. That is an actual state of affairs, domestically and abroad. There also are matters vital to the Lebanese and Syrians that must be observed frankly, truthfully and sincerely from a premise of seminal national relations between the two countries.

Deputy August Bakhus:

I agree with the National Movement that unequivocal guarantees should be given to Syria regarding its security in the region. This is one of the rights of brothers.

I do not agree that the Syrian regime should interfere in everything unusual that happens in Lebanon.

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CSO: 4404/194

FAILURE OF ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE HOUSING CRISIS DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1293 14 Aug 81 pp 37-38

[Article by 'Adnan Karimah: "Construction in Lebanon Is Booming, But the Housing Crisis Is Getting Worse!"]

[Text] Bank Loans to This Sector Have Increased by 1 Billion Lebanese Pounds in 5 Years.

In spite of the breakdowns in public security in Lebanon and the apprehensions of investors that there will be a large upheaval from time to time because of the political and military developments taking place between conflicting parties in the area and because of the repercussions which these developments have on the Lebanese arena, construction activity in Lebanon is thriving in all places which are not near the points of contact between opposing forces and the areas where fighting is taking place. This is easy to see since the skeletons of buildings are being put up and buildings are being constructed, both for housing and commercial offices, after they have already been sold on the map.

There is no explanation for this phenomenon other than the fact that there is a good return for one's investment in the building sector, in which those active in it are pursuing the policy of selling rather than renting. This policy has closed down the rental market and thus increased the intensity of Lebanon's social crisis.

What has emerged here is the government's failure to deal with this crisis at a time when investors have exploited the situation more and more by raising prices in order to get as much benefit as possible from the return on their investments. Furthermore, a number of new merchants have entered the market and this had increased the number of middlemen and expanded the scope of brokerage deals in this sector.

The banks have had a share in these investments, and this showed up in the increase in the scope of their loans to the building sector. These loans increased from 579 million Lebanese pounds in 1974 to 1.539 billion pounds in September of 1980. In addition to this, this construction activity has contributed to stimulating more activity in commerce and industry, especially with regard to the goods and materials which are used in construction.

There is a large gap between supply and demand in the housing market, and Lebanon needs at least 38 percent more housing units than it previously had! This gap in



in the market has encouraged investors to invest in construction, particularly at a time when middle-class Lebanese, who are capable of doing so, are flocking to buy housing for themselves.

All of this has been happening at a time when the government has not been functioning and has not been able to respond to this demand or even increase the supply by implementing housing projects which the Lebanese have been waiting so long for.

Government interest in regulating housing in Lebanon is not something new. It began in 1963 with the establishment of the Housing Council which was made subordinate to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, but its work did not result in anything positive. The reason for this can be found in the financing operation. It relied on the private sector to put its plans into effect, but the private sector did not respond to this demand because of its lack of confidence in the government administration.

In 1973 the Ministry of Housing and Cooperatives was established. One of the activities assigned to it was the direct supervision of the special housing fund, and the categories of low-income people who were to benefit from it were established. At the present time this includes people who earn up to 17,000 pounds a year. In addition to this, the ministry is supposed to subsidize housing cooperatives.

After the 1975-76 war Lebanon faced, and still faces, a deterioration in its housing situation. The destruction and the forced internal migration which accompanied it contributed toward escalating the housing crisis which already existed before the war.

The government then proceeded to establish three programs of action in the field of construction and restoration as a first step toward dealing with the lack of housing and in order to decrease the intensity of social pressures in Lebanon. The three programs were the following:

1. Restoration or reconstruction of damaged building properties. The development project which was prepared by the Council for Reconstruction and Development brought out the fact that the cost of this project would be an estimated 1.8 billion pounds. The plan stipulated that the government, via the Ministry of Housing, would grant loans not to exceed 30,000 pounds per housing unit. (Later on this figure was raised to 40,000 pounds.) The plan called for the loans to be repayed within a period of no more than 15 years, and that the interest rate on the loans would be 2 percent monthly.
2. Restoration or reconstruction of damaged housing in the South. The objective of this plan was to facilitate, or participate in facilitating, the restoration or reconstruction of housing damaged due to the Israeli incursions. The aim of this was to urge refugees from the South to return to their homes and to encourage the people of the South generally to stay in the South. The cost of this project, the implementation of which was assigned to the Council of the South, was estimated at 200 million pounds. This was the figure quoted by the development plan. However, this figure has now doubled.
3. Building of low-cost housing. The development plan states that this project provides for the building of 6,000 housing units in order to meet the increasing

demand for housing, the total demand for which will be an estimated 400,000 housing units by the year 2000.

The project for building the 6,000 housing units represented a first stage of a plan aiming to close the gap in housing expected during the following 6 years. This gap in housing was estimated at about 51,000 housing units, and the estimated cost for building such housing units was about 2.5 billion pounds.

So the cost of the housing projects being dealt with by the Council for Reconstruction and Development was about 4.5 billion pounds (according to 1977 prices). But how much of these projects has been implemented?

Less than 150 million pounds have been spent on projects for restoration and reconstruction of damaged housing in the various areas of Lebanon, including the South.

But as for the project to provide loans for buying housing, two approaches have been used to take the necessary steps to implement it:

The first approach has been via the independent fund which was set up when Michel al-Murr, the former minister of housing, was in office. This plan stipulates the construction of 20,000 housing units in various parts of Lebanon and the ones to benefit from this are to be those earning limited income--not totalling more than 40,000 pounds. This project is to be financed by fees charged in connection with the increase in the investment factor for both existing buildings and buildings intended to be constructed. However, up till now no citizens have benefited from this fund which was set up in the Ministry of Housing. In fact, the current housing minister, Nicola al-Jahil, is in favor of changing the ministry's policy so that it will become a center for unifying the housing policy and supervising the implementation of such a policy--particularly in the direction of subsidizing housing cooperatives.

The second approach has been via the Housing Bank. This bank has been the most active institution in the housing market. It began its activities at the beginning of 1979 with 50 million pounds worth of capital, its capital participation being as follows--20 percent of the capital was contributed by the government, 31 percent was contributed by the National Social Security Fund, and 49 percent was contributed by the private sector, largely by banks. Because of the great demand for the Housing Bank's capital ever since it was established, the capital was all lent out within a short time. Then it obtained loans from the state treasury amounting to 50 million pounds. This year it has also obtained a loan totalling 15 million pounds. All of this money has gone out in the form of loans to borrowers, and by the middle of this year the total amount of money that was lent out to approximately 1,100 borrowers was 113 million pounds.

Thus all of the money received by the Housing Bank has been used up. Recently the bank requested the issuance of housing deeds backed by the government, but its request was received with reservations by the Central Bank.

So we see that several institutions have been established in order to solve the housing crisis, but the citizens of Lebanon have not benefited from them. They have remained inoperative, with the exception of the Housing Bank which engaged in

considerable activity which ultimately led to the depletion of its resources. It is asking for more money, but is not finding anyone who is responding to this request and is providing it with this money. This bank, though, was not able to solve the housing crisis. In fact it was not even able to partially solve it. On the contrary, what it has done is to contribute toward increasing the demand for housing and consequently raising the prices.

What is the bank's latest plan?

The fact is that the bank is still being bombarded with requests for loans, but it is out of money and unable to give any loans. After its failure to issue housing deeds, it presently has its eyes on two other sources of money, which are:

1. Arab money which the summit meeting at Tunis approved granting to Lebanon in the form of aid. This money amounts to \$400 million a year for the period of 5 years. So far Lebanon has received \$200 million of this amount (approximately 860 million Lebanese pounds). The Council for Reconstruction and Development, of this total amount, has allocated the sum of 400 million pounds for housing for the first year (1981). Of these 400 million pounds, 150 million was set aside for the South and 250 million was earmarked for the other areas of Lebanon. Recently the council has agreed to give the Housing Bank 20 million pounds as an initial payment to the bank, half of which is to be granted in the form of loans to the South and the other half is to be granted as loans to the other regions of Lebanon.

2. Surplus money in the National Social Security Fund, which is currently estimated at about 1 billion Lebanese pounds. This money belongs to the Employment Termination Compensation Branch Fund. This money, however, is being coordinated with the housing fund loans which are repayable within periods of up to 20 years.

But it appears that accomplishing this involves a conflict with questions of authority. This is what happened not long ago. The Housing Bank requested a loan of 200 million pounds from the Social Security Fund. Dr Rida Wahid, director-general of the Social Security Fund, agreed to the request and his approval of the request was accompanied by a draft regulation defining the relationship of the Social Security Fund to the Housing Bank.

The most important points of this draft regulation were the following:

1. Loans would be given by the Social Security Fund to either the Housing Bank or the Ministry of Housing (the independent fund).
2. The only people entitled to take out the loans would be employees and those covered by social security as defined by the provisions of Article 64 of the Social Security Law.
3. Borrowers taking out the loans would pay an interest rate of 2 percent less than the interest rate charged by the Housing Bank, which currently amounts to 8 percent.

In this way Dr Wahid wishes to benefit the approximately 150,000 borrowers who are covered by his Social Security Fund. The reason for this is that they are basically the people who own the money which is accumulating in the Employment Termination Compensation Branch Fund.

However this matter was in conflict with the fact that the Social Security Fund organization did not have the authority to set such conditions in view of the fact that Article 64 of the Social Security Law had already been abolished after the issuance of the regulatory decrees of the Housing Law. In order that the matter not escape the control of the Social Security Fund organization, Dr Wahid recently took action and proposed a draft amendment for the above-mentioned regulatory decrees. According to this draft amendment, the regulatory decrees would expressly stipulate the right of the Social Security Fund to set special conditions when concluding arrangements with the Ministry [of Housing] or the Housing Bank.

While a decision is being awaited concerning all of these matters, the housing crisis is getting worse, people who are doing the exploiting are continuing to engage in their exploitation, and the numerous housing organizations cannot get anything done because of the entanglement of spheres of authority--even though the necessary money for investment is available. As a result of this the citizens who are dealing with this investment money are paying a high price!

9468

CSO: 4304/158

## INDUSTRIAL CRISIS MAY HAVE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 7

[Text]

Before the outbreak of the Lebanese war in 1975, the Ghandour compressed wood plant in the northern Lebanese coastal town of Tripoli was producing 50,000 to 60,000 square metres of plywood a year. Today, output barely reaches 10,000 square metres a year. The factory faces a reported deficit of around LL 60 million and stood to lose an estimated LL 10 million in 1981.

The Lebanese government and representatives of the country's industrial sector have been devoting considerable attention to the plight of the Ghandour plant because its current difficulties are similar to those experienced by many other industrial concerns in post-war Lebanon. The authorities are also worried about the possible political repercussions that closure of the Ghandour plant could entail.

The absence of government authority in most parts of the country has allowed merchants to import a wide range of goods through illegal ports without paying taxes or customs duties. This deprives the state of income and puts pressure on local manufacturers who still pay taxes and customs duties. The owners of the Ghandour plant, for example, are faced with competition from importers of smuggled wood who also refuse to pay taxes.

Local producers have already been hit hard by an inflation rate which was running at 24 per cent a year in 1979 and 1980, according to Central Bank estimates. Last October's fuel price increases of between 36 and 100 per cent are likely to have pushed the inflation rate even higher in 1981.

In addition, the poor security conditions still prevailing in Lebanon five years after the end of the 1975-76 war have encouraged many of the country's skilled workers to seek higher wages elsewhere, particularly in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. This has had an adverse effect on the level of productivity as well as on the cost of production. Unable to cope with illegal competition on top of their other problems, some Lebanese industries have gone to the wall. Last month alone, factories for wood products, textiles, medical supplies and weaving were forced to close.

The owners of the Ghandour factory have threatened to follow suit by shifting from manufacturing into



trading, where profits are easier to come by. However, the 600 workers employed at the plant have raised the possibility of a violent response to any such move.

The government now finds itself in a delicate position. It has neither the authority nor the resources to crack down on the illegal ports and put a stop to the smuggling operations which are helping force industries out of business. But the option of collaboration with the *de facto* forces which exercise effective control of the ports would, in the eyes of some members of the government, confer unwarranted legitimacy on groups which, whether for political or commercial ends, are undermining what remains of the state's authority. A Lebanese commentator writing in our sister publication *An-Nahar*, has expressed the fear that if the issue of the Ghandour plant remains unresolved it could lead to a split in the Cabinet resulting in a possible collapse of the government. In that event, the journalist predicted that a division of the country could take place on the industrial level at least, with the various parties levying taxes in the areas under their control.

To a certain extent this is already happening. Even in the capital, the government's capacity to raise taxes and levy customs duties is strictly limited. The right-wing Phalangist party levies its own customs duties at the port of Beirut where it controls one of five basins. The Phalangists have evolved an increasingly sophisticated system whereby duties are assessed according to the type of goods imported with the highest charges being made on luxury items such as video sets.

In these circumstances it is hard to see what the legal authorities can do to rescue Lebanon's ailing industrial sector. It has not yet responded to last month's plea by industrialists to make LL 1 billion available for lending to industrial concerns at an interest rate not exceeding 5 per cent. In their memo to the government, the industrialists also called for the amendment of a decree rescheduling debts into installment to be paid over an extended period. The memo suggested the creation of a special fund to support Lebanese exports, with the money to come from Arab assistance to Lebanon. The industrialists asked the government to restrict state purchases to local products on condition these are of an acceptable standard.

But even if the government acts on all these suggestions, it may be too late to save the Ghandour factory in Tripoli.

## PAPER ASSAILS REAGAN'S ANTI-LIBYAN POLICY

PM221401 London AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in English 15 Jan 82 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed article: "Killers Who Accuse Us of Killing"]

[Text] The Goebells information and propaganda system, in which fabricated lies are offered on the understanding that truth is relative, while falsehood is projected in the guise of truth, is especially obnoxious in our age of instant global communication--and a lethal weapon in the hands of the U.S. Administration.

But the system is so transparent that in fact it can no longer be sold to the peoples of the world. The general public is aware enough and conscious of who manipulated the media and thus prefers to make up its own mind as to the truth of official "pronouncements".

For example, it is not easy any longer for international opinion to swallow the propaganda bait whereby an accusation of murder is slung without producing material evidence to substantiate that claim--i.e., with catching the culprit in flagrante delicto. But false evidence can be produced, often in such a foolish way that the claimant is morally discredited in the eyes of the world. However, that false evidence might also play the role of a propaganda missile, aimed at covering up certain actions. It can thus be interpreted as a step in a larger and secretly planned program in the mind of the discredited claimant.

## Fabricated

In either case, the Reagan Administration and the Zionists have fabricated the drama of the alleged suicide squad of Libyan Arab guerrilla groups, supposedly sent to assassinate Reagan and his close advisers. Their allegations were foolishly conceived and the world realised this very clearly because it has experienced no such thing coming from Libya.

The only positive action the Jamahiriya and its leader has even taken--and the world knows that too--is to support embattled nations, the poor, the downtrodden, those treated unjustly and the weak, whether by practical material support or by offering them the ultimate and fundamental solutions of the political, economic and social problems which face humanity.

These are the solutions to which the masses respond within their hearts and brains and which achieve more and more triumphs and acquire increasing numbers of supporters ideologically committed to these principles of justice, equality and socialism.

And this is only normal! Which downtrodden person anywhere in the world does not aspire to a life freed from the chains of slavery, from the excesses of political and economic exploitation? Which downtrodden person on this planet does dream the great dream of freedom and happiness for all men, of equality for all, of the total sharing of all power, wealth and weapons?

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi the leader of the glorious al-Fatih revolution, are therefore beyond reproach, and certainly beyond any of the base and vile accusations the United States Government has thrown at them in a vain attempt to discredit their joint efforts to bring justice and equality into the world.

That Reagan and company are truly afraid of the level of impact the revolutionary ideas and their realisation current in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya can have and is already having on people all over the world, is clearly shown by the incredible level of turpitude and viciousness they are showing in their doomed attempt to discredit us.

But why should the most powerful nation on earth sink to such a level in the face of a small desert country with a population of less than half that of many of the larger American cities? Why should the most powerful man in the world stoop to such outrageous lies and accuse us of trying to kill him and his advisers? Why this whole sordid fiction of suicide squads, a fiction barely coherent enough to have made a second-rate Hollywood thriller?

It has in recent weeks been confirmed--by both independent and American sources--that the whole drama of the supposed Libyan suicide squads had been nothing more than a figment of the imagination of those Washington power mongers. And it has also been made clear that the whole sordid demonology they tried to conjure up was in fact set in motion for two specific reasons.

First off, the fiction was meant to cover up the whole sorry and bloody mess of American foreign policy throughout the world. For us it is clear that Reagan and his Zionist buddies are involved in setting up the slow genocide of the Arab nation and are therefore trying to stir up as much trouble as possible in the Middle East so that the Zionist plans for a greater Israel, can be fulfilled.

The idea is to discredit the Libyans--and through them the whole Arab nation, their dreams of unity and their pride in their homeland, so much that once the Zionists and their American allies start a war of extermination against us, the rest of the world will not come to our aid, believing that the image Reagan has been trying to project of us corresponds to the truth and that therefore the Zionist-U.S. cause is right.

Also, the whole theatrical charade aims at covering up U.S. foreign policy in other parts of the world, such as the active support the Reagan Administration is giving the bloody Duarte regime in El Salvador, the American friendships with the world's most degenerate and lethal regimes such as those in Guatemala and Chile, and, last

but not least, the very close friendship between the United States and South African fascists who are trying to bring the people of Angola and of Namibia to their knees.

Also covered up are the Reagan Administration's close ties with as tyrannical regimes as those in Sudan and Zaire, in Pakistan and in Saudi Arabia. For him discrediting Libya is a major part of the Zionist-American strategy of discrediting the people of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Movement.

But beyond these cover-up operations, there is another, possibly even more lethal side to Washington's anti-Libyan campaign. Besides the fact that Reagan is itching to invade Libya and restart the age of colonialism on a grand military scale--and who needs proof of this desire on the part of Washington after the Gulf of Sidra incident, the various military rapid deployment force-type operations in our area over the last year, and the publicly-acknowledge attempts by the American secret service to assassinate the leader of the Libyan revolution?

Besides those local colonialists ambitions, it is now clear that Reagan is nudging the world closer to a new world war, a war that cannot but be a nuclear holocaust. The man is crazy enough to believe that he can make Europe carry the brunt of such an event, while keeping the American territory intact--or sustaining only, what his general call "acceptable losses", i.e. the death of between 20 and 50 million American civilians.

That is why he is trying to impose on his Europe neo-colonies the burden of massive U.S. nuclear arms--making sure that in case of war Europe will be totally wiped from the surface of the globe. By such actions and such insane behaviour patterns, Reagan has become in the eyes of the world population a lunatic terrorist killer--that is he himself is exactly what he is accusing the Libyan people of being.

Psychologically this reversal is easily explained and can often be witnessed. Many killers try to shift their own psychological make-up onto someone else by trying to appear pure and innocent in the face of the world.

But should the world be able to contain those demonic drives towards final annihilation for some time yet, there remains what to us, the people of the Libyan Jamahiriya is the gravest threat. For there is no shade of a doubt in the mind of even a single Libyan that what Reagan and his sidekicks are up to with all these lies and falsifications is to prepare the world for a military invasion of the Libyan Jamahiriya.

Clearly his actions so far, and especially the latest "murder squad" propagandistic issue of lies, is a traditional psychological preparation for the opening of actual hostilities. This is further substantiated by Washington's order to withdraw all American civilians from Libya and by the economic boycott decreed against the country.

In view of these things, anybody even vaguely familiar with the similar patterns of preparations have taken at other times and places, cannot but conclude that the Reagan Administration is in fact preparing for an armed adventure against the people of Libya and their territory.

Such an adventure aims at destroying the people's authority, a concept unbearable to the likes of Reagan and Haig, and to put an end to the era of the masses. In fact, to kill the chicken in the egg, so as to prevent our revolutionary ideas and praxis from spreading. Washington's hope is that by putting an end to the Libyan experiment it will at the same time put an end to all the revolutionary struggles being waged at present throughout the world.

America, however, will fail in its aggressive adventure just as it failed in the Gulf of Sidra because it will confront an enemy the like of which it has never encountered. It will be confronted by a whole people in arms and it will have to face the international revolutionary forces that have made the Libyan Jamahiriya their home.

The Libyan Jamahiriya will achieve victory not only in its duel with American imperialism, but it will secure victory for the people of Central And Latin America, for the people in Angola and Namibia, for the people of Palestine and for all the liberation movements throughout the whole world.

CSO: 4500/54



## BRIEFS

**POULTRY PROJECT**--Amid the flood of celebrations by the Libyan Arab people commemorating the 12th anniversary of the Glorious 1 September Revolution, a ceremony was held yesterday to mark the laying of the cornerstone for a large integrated poultry production project. Present at the ceremony, which was held at the project site in al-'Aziziyah, was the secretary of the General Popular Committee for Agricultural Reclamation and Land Restoration, the secretaries of the popular conferences and categorical committees in Tripoli and al-'Aziziyah, Bulgaria's ambassador to the jamahiriyah, the director of the company implementing the project, and large numbers of citizens. The purpose of the project, which will be completed within 33 months, is to produce 5 million poultry fowl per year. The project also includes hen farms for the production of 6.5 million eggs per year as well as fattening farms equipped with a modern automated slaughterhouse and meat storage facilities. In addition, the project includes a plant for the production of chicken feed at a rate of 11 tons per hour. Sources from the General Popular Committee for Agricultural Reclamation and Land Restoration said that this project will help reduce the consumption of imported meat while raising the average annual per capita consumption of meat in the jamahiriyah from 8 to 21 kilograms, a rate comparable to that in agriculturally advanced countries. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 16 Sep 81 p 2] 8591

**STAINLESS STEEL PLANT**--Amid the many celebrations by the Libyan Arab people commemorating the 12th anniversary of the Glorious 1 September Revolution, another new industrial accomplishment of the Glorious 1 September Revolution was added the day before yesterday. This was the opening of the household utensils plant on the al-Sawani Road in Tripoli. A popular celebration was held on this occasion and was attended by the secretaries of the general popular committees for light industries, general services and planning along with crowds of people. At this celebration, speeches were delivered in praise of the tremendous accomplishments achieved by the Glorious 1 September Revolution on the road to building the new socialist society and achieving liberation from the control of the monopolies. The productive capacity of the stainless steel plant is 131,120 pieces of household utensils per year based on single-shift operation. The stainless steel plant is the largest plant in the jamahiriyah and in the Arab homeland. Local exports account for 45 percent of the value of production. The capacity of the aluminum plant is 262,245 pieces of household utensils per year based on single-shift operation. Sources from the popular committee for the plant stated that a contract has been signed with a specialized company for the implementation of a plant to produce flatware. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 15 Sep 81 p 2] 8591

ANTI-ISRAELI TRADE ACTION ALLEGED--Israeli officials say Libya is subsidizing Cypriot citrus exports to West Germany to undercut Israel's exports. The Israeli radio reporter in Bonn says the Israeli citrus will still sell because Cyprus is not capable of supplying the entire German market. [Text] [TA221242 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 22 Jan 82] \*

CSO: 4500/54

## OIL DISCOVERY PROBABILITY NOTED

London 8 DAYS in English No 51, 26 Dec 81 pp 58-59

[Article by Howard Schissel]

[Text] MAURITANIAN government officials are convinced that a new chapter in the country's search for oil is about to open following the mid-October agreement with Mobil Oil of the US which selected two of the nine blocks offered by the ministry of mines and energy. Covering 34,000 sq km around Nouakchott, Mobil's acreage will be subject to a thorough seismic survey before a decision on drilling exploratory wells is taken. In November, Mobil dispatched a specially equipped ship, the *Nelson*, along the coastline for a preliminary geophysical appraisal.

Only 12 wildcats have been spudded in Mauritania's vast desert territory, and until now results have not been encouraging. Two sedimentary basins have attracted a number of international oil groups in the past: the Taoudeni basin along the Malian frontier where Texaco and Agip were active, and the coastal or Atlantic basin stretching from the port of Nouadhibou southwards practically to the Senegalese border, where Amoco, Shell and Agip tried their luck but without success.

In 1977, a consortium known as Segap, consisting of the Spanish state firm Hispanoil, Italy's Agip and Phillips Petroleum, took a 24,300 sq km block in a deepwater zone near Nouadhibou. After seismic studies, the first well was drilled early in 1981, but was abandoned dry. The well was sunk by a specially equipped drilling vessel under 1,100 metres of water.

A new seismic survey is currently being completed, which will determine whether the consortium renews its permit, due to expire in March 1982. Officials at the Mauritanian ministry of mines and energy

told 8 Days that they were hopeful about the possibility of extending the permit.

A subsidiary of the French Petroleum Institute, Beicep, carried out a comprehensive study in 1979 of all existing material on hydrocarbon possibilities in Mauritania. 'The Beicep study gave an entirely new idea of what oil prospects could be in the country', an official at the ministry of mines and energy told 8 Days. In addition, the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank, granted a \$3m loan to Mauritania to finance an oil promotion scheme. The object is to promote Mauritania's hydrocarbon potential among oil companies, provide technical assistance in negotiating with oil concerns, and cover Mauritania's participation in a study covering a sedimentary basin shared with Senegal.

So far, ten oil companies have paid \$20,000 each to acquire a copy of the Beicep report, and five have notified Mauritanian officials of their interest in eventually acquiring acreage. These are: Chevron, Phillips, Atlantic Richfield (Arco), Oxoco, all of the US, and Hunt Oil of the UK. Negotiations are expected to lead to the signing of several exploration agreements during the first six months of 1982.

Of the seven remaining blocks, Number 2 bordering on the Segap concession, and number 8 offshore from southern Mauritania, are reportedly the most coveted. Future accords will be based on the production sharing principle, 8 Days was told.

Algerian technical assistance and finan-

cial and will help bring Mauritania's 1m tonne-a-year refinery at Nouadhibou onstream towards the end of 1982. Completed in 1977 at a cost of \$90m, the refinery never started operations, because it was designed to process only light Algerian crude oil, and until Mauritania signed a peace treaty in mid-1979 with the Algerian-backed Polisario, Algiers refused to supply crude to Mauritania.

The Algerians are supplying \$20m to refurbish the refinery, and the Jeddah-based Islamic Development Bank is to loan \$10m to finance feedstock purchases. When the refinery reaches its full production capacity of 20,000 b/d, about 80 per cent of the output will be exported, as domestic consumption remains limited at 4,000 b/d.

CSO: 4500/93

## MUSCAT VIEWS DANGER OF SOVIET PENETRATION IN MIDEAST

LD121936 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1315 GMT 12 Jan 82

["Under the Spotlight" program presented by (Mamduh Ismail)]

[Excerpts] It was natural for the Sultanate to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the suspect Tripartite Alliance between South Yemen, Ethiopia and Libya. The presence of 100,000 soldiers in Afghanistan threatens the Gulf region and the Arabian Peninsula, since advanced bombers are able to cover hundreds of miles within a few minutes. The Tripartite Alliance is no more than Soviet coordination between its puppets to define their roles in accordance with the changing events and possible developments. All this comes in the context of Soviet attempts to encircle the region.

It is surprising that those who hope for serious cooperation on the basis of real friendship with the USSR have not properly understood the objectives of Soviet policy and how it is implemented in stages. History says that the Russians have had ambitions in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean since the last quarter of the 18th Century. Their moves have always been aimed at achieving military objectives.

The Soviets have been applying a flexible strategy which provides for the erection of props in many areas and the creation of supportive local forces loyal to them, forces which accept their Marxist ideology. Then they embark on creating zones linking their various centers through [word indistinct] and infiltration. This is what we see today in South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Libya and other states which have become firm props for the Soviet presence and their front line of attack, as well as a line of defense--defense of Soviet territory only. The Soviets, as a result of this policy, have moved into the Middle East, North Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America without any convincing security motives to justify this penetration.

There are agreed procedures whereby we see some of the puppet regimes establishing links with more than one party. The rulers of Aden, for example have achieved a step forward in this respect. They have signed agreements with the USSR, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. They have also signed an agreement with Ethiopia and Libya. This means that they have bound South Yemen to the Warsaw Pact countries and their satellites in Africa. They--I mean the rulers of Aden--have become committed to the policies of that military pact.



THIS is the course of Soviet policy, pushing in front of it the puppet regime in Aden and using it as its tool. It was Oman which raised the alarm about this danger. It concentrated its efforts against this danger even before it became even as serious as it is now. When the Gulf Cooperation Council was set up, Oman wanted the question of security to be among the priorities of the council.

There are those who say that the communist danger threatens Gulf and Arab security. There are others who say that the Israeli danger threatens the Arab homeland from the ocean to the Gulf. What is certain is that both are a source of danger. Soviet policy objectives are at the present moment in accord with Israeli policy objectives, namely transforming the Arab region from East to West into an arena of perpetual conflict and creating hotbeds of tension and contradictions in it. But the difference is clear--the Soviet threat is closer to the Gulf Cooperation Council member states. The Israeli danger is more remote. The council's confrontation with the closer threat is the natural entry point from which to face up to the one which is more remote.

CSO: 4404/223

## BRIEFS

NEW UK AMBASSADOR--Britain's ambassador-designate to the Sultanate, Mr Duncan Slater, arrived in Oman on Sunday. The new envoy has been transferred to Muscat from Nigeria where he was head of chancery in the British High Commission. During his 22 years as a diplomat he has served in Aden, Abu Dhabi, Lebanon, Pakistan, India and Brussels. [GF280424 Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 24 Dec 81 p 1 GF]

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AMBASSADOR TO BAHRAIN--His Majesty Sultan Qabus of Oman issued a decree today appointing 'Abdallah Muhammad adh-Dhahab ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Bahrain. He replaces Muhammad Hasan 'Ali, who has been transferred to the Omani foreign ministry secretariat. [Text] [GF241904 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1825 GMT 24 Dec 81 GF]

CSO: 4404/223

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

CLOSER RELATIONS WITH IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY, DFLP EMPHASIZED

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 18 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Review of the Development of Relations Between Our Party and the Iraqi Communist Party and DFLP"]

[Text] There has been a review of means of developing joint cooperation and coordination relations between the Yemeni Socialist Party and both the Iraqi Communist Party and the DFLP.

This review took place at a meeting yesterday in which Col 'Ali Ahmad Nasir 'Antar, member of the political office, first deputy chairman, and minister of local government, received 'Aziz Muhammad al-Amin, secretary general of the Iraqi Communist Party, Taysir Khalid, member of the political office of the DFLP, and the delegations accompanying the two men.

During the meeting, the officials also exchanged views on current conditions in the Arab region and the tasks of the Arab Liberation movement in confronting imperialist, zionist and reactionary conspiracies. Also at the meeting was Mahmud Ahmad al-Najashi, member and deputy secretary of the central committee.

Later yesterday, 'Aziz Muhammad, Taysir Khalid and their accompanying delegations left Aden upon the conclusion of their visit to the PDRY.

Present to see the men off at Aden International Airport were Mahmud Ahmad al-Najashi and several officials.

8591

CSO: 4404/84

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

SMUGGLING OPERATIONS SEEN AS THREAT TO COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 30 Sep 81 p 4

[Article: "Smuggling Operations Pose Threat to Our Economy That We Cannot Remain Silent About; Campaign Against Smuggling Seeks Only To Fight Violations of the Law and Will Be Submitted to the Courts To Take Measures in Accordance with the Law"]

[Text] A national campaign got underway 2 days ago in all governorates of the republic to protect our national economy from the smuggling of goods, transgressions of the law, speculation and illegal gain. With regard to this campaign, Col Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani, member candidate of the central committee and minister of interior, granted an interview to 14 UKTUBAR in which he shed light on the goals of this campaign, which is being conducted by the Ministry of Interior in coordination with the responsible authorities to combat smuggling. He said: "Smuggling has recently reached major proportions. The political authorities in our country have fought the danger that smuggling poses to our national economy and the national income. In addition to the fact that smuggling is used to smuggle goods and cadres, the other danger is that a certain group has begun to practice the smuggling of currency for illegal gain, breaking the laws issued by the government of the revolution and violating the sanctity of law and order. The responsible authorities in the party and the state have earnestly fought all this and an accounting must be made. The people who are profiting from illegal goods have been given a chance. In our opinion, this activity is something we cannot remain silent about."

Col Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani added: "The minister of trade and supply issued a decision saying that all individuals who had smuggled goods in their possession were required to get rid of them within 6 months. We feel that this was lenient with them even though they broke the laws. Three more months passed and rather than getting rid of the smuggled goods, they put more of them on the market. For our part, we felt that we could not remain silent about something that affected our system, no matter how big or small. All the legal organizations such as the Ministry of Justice and the Public Prosecutor were assigned to this problem, and they felt that it was proper for the executive organizations to enforce the laws established by the republic. Based on this decision, instructions were issued to the designated authorities including the customs service, the people's police, the popular defense committees and the price control organization. We began an inspection campaign after all shops containing smuggled goods had been identified in all the governorates without exception.

The campaign actually began based on a legal order from the public prosecutor after the prosecutor had been supplied with all the names and the merchants in possession of smuggled goods. The search proceeded as follows:

--The executive authorities were responsible for verification based on a list drawn up by the Ministry of Trade and Supply specifying the goods not imported under license. The goods were then seized by the authorities. A receipt for the goods was given to the merchant with copies sent to the Ministry of Trade and Supply and the executive authority. The goods were then withdrawn until the judicial authority could render a decision on them.

--With regard to goods not imported by the National Domestic Trade Company which were sold at public auction and found in a merchant's possession during a search, the merchant was required to produce documentation proving how the goods were obtained. If he could produce such documentation, the goods remained in his possession.

Col Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani concluded his remarks by pointing out that this campaign and the instructions pertaining to it were carried out in all governorates of the republic after the measures had been discussed by the Political Office, the Council of Ministers, the secretaries of the party organizations and the governors of the governorates. All parties stood behind the actions in a responsible manner.

Commenting on the same subject, Minister of Trade and Supply Ahmad 'Abid al-Fadli states: "This campaign is aimed only at fighting violations of the law. It is not aimed at harassing foreigners or individuals bringing legitimate gifts when returning to their homeland."

He added: "Smuggling is economic sabotage and the smuggling campaign was aimed at our national system, not the sale of any specific goods. There have been desperate attempts to make this country submit through military means, but they have met with failure. Therefore, the aim of smuggling is to destroy the economic situation in the country and fight the domestic products that have begun to accumulate. These products include shirts, perfumes, shoes and canned fish. Similar goods are produced in our country. In addition, smuggling is an attempt to evade fees and make illegal profit. The goal of the smugglers is not to bring in goods. Rather, their goal is a political goal: economic sabotage and financial gain. Some store owners are go-betweens for the smugglers. Therefore, the goal of the campaign is to protect the citizens and the national economy."

'Abid al-Fadli went on to say: "In 1974, the world economy was undergoing inflation as a result of the decline in the value of the dollar. This caused problems in meeting supply. Priority was given to basic foodstuffs and some funds were allocated for a few luxuries. In late 1978 and early 1979, the supply stabilized and a degree of stability was reached in these goods, but inflation continued to play its role."

We in the Ministry of Trade and Supply and the state confronted these problems. In December of last year, a decision was issued which gave 6 months for people to get rid of unofficial goods. We were lenient with them and we went beyond the deadline by about 2 and one-half months. Unfortunately, the smugglers



continued operating at an even greater rate. We then prepared the groundwork to apply this decision and coordinate our activities with the concerned authorities in the Ministries of Interior and Finance, the leaders of the people's police, the secretaries of the party organizations and the governors. We agreed on a starting date for the campaign against smugglers and dealers in smuggled goods. The campaign was carried out at the scheduled time.

"There are some individuals who are trying to distort the campaign by saying it was designed to attack the private sector. However, our national system is committed to building the national economy. Moreover, in its eighth session last year, the central committee stressed that incentives should be given to the private sector.

"Therefore, the campaign is not a campaign of suppression. Rather, it took place in order to protect the laws and regulations. The products are seized in an organized fashion and will be turned over to the courts so they may take the proper measures in accordance with the law.

"Some additional measures are currently being taken. The trade company is focusing more on selling materials, more attention is being paid to people's tastes and the private sector will be subject to the same price provisions in retail sales as the public sector. In addition, the company will work to monitor the national industries and improve production to make up for the smuggled goods that threatened the national industries.

"During the campaign, a higher committee was formed to implement the decision and there were subcommittees in the governorates to prevent any misconduct during the implementation. We are willing to listen to any observations. We are also in contact with all the organizations in the Ministries of Interior and Finance and in the governorates so that the decision will not be abused. We assure the citizens that the campaign is not aimed at any particular person."

8591

CSO: 4404/84

REPORT ON FIRST COMMERCIAL PILOTS GRADUATING CLASS

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Article: "For the First Time Within the Country: First Class of Commercial Pilots Graduates"]

[Text] For the first time, a group of Yemeni commercial pilots has graduated from a national institute within the country. Yesterday morning, the Civil Aviation Institute celebrated the graduation of the first class of these commercial pilots, who were qualified and trained in this institute run by the Civil Aviation Agency in cooperation with the International Aviation Organization.

The 11 individuals in the group went through a 3 and one-half year training period including 200 hours of flying time. Their training was supervised by specialized experts from the International Aviation Organization and specialized domestic cadres.

Present at the ceremony were 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Aziz, Central Committee member and minister of communications; 'Abdallah Salim 'Abid, general director of the Civil Aviation Agency; Ahmad Mas'ud al-'Alwani, general director of the al-Yamda Aviation Organization and representative of the International Aviation Organization; and a number of officials from the Ministry of Communications, al-Yamda, and the Aviation Agency.

In an address delivered at the ceremony, Civil Aviation Institute Director Mahfuz Salim said: "The graduation of this group of commercial pilots inaugurates the activities of the institute, which will be made ready to accommodate additional students and additional qualification and training session." 'Abdallah Salim 'Abid, the general director of the Aviation Agency, made this statement: "During the next 4 years, advanced sessions will be organized at the institute. These will include the fields of air traffic control, meteorological observation, radio communications, electronics engineering, firefighting and rescue. These sessions will be run by specialized experts with direct participation by the national cadre. This will help create a trained cadre that will enable the aviation sector in our country to become self-sufficient in all these areas."

This was the first course in an academic setting in which domestic instructors have gained extensive expertise in the field of aviation training. One phase of the course was directed entirely by one of the domestic cadres. The individuals in this cadre demonstrated their aptitude and proved themselves

equal to their counterparts among the foreign experts. Members of domestic cadres who participated actively in this course included Captain Mahmud 'Alyan and Captain Sami Qa'id as well as an expert with the Civil Aviation Organization, Mr (Wadwan).

This course is also considered the first to lay the foundations of the practical and scientific program for the training and qualification of domestic pilots--a field which is vital and important for our country.

The course met with a few difficulties that caused the period of study to last longer than the scheduled period. Most of the speeches given at the ceremony touched on this point. Badr Muhammad Ahmad, who delivered the students' address, said that although the students suffered some hardship due to the long period of study, they are also responsible for working in their field with complete devotion and self-sacrifice in the service of their country, which has provided them with all the academic opportunities. The speech affirmed the students' continuing desire for additional qualification and training in order to obtain new skills that will help them serve the field of civil aviation.

The organizations that have direct responsibility for aviation are called on to contribute to the continued success of the activities of the institute by providing training resources and assigning several of the qualified domestic aviation trainees to help upcoming groups of students at the institute to obtain additional know-how in the aviation field. These organizations are also called on to make maximum use of the resources and assistance provided by the International Aviation Organization, especially since the organization's representative residing in Aden declared in his speech that his organization was willing to provide further assistance to help develop civil aviation and upgrade training and qualification circumstances in this field which is so vital and important to our country.

8591

CSO: 4404/84

QATARI PAPERS SEE END TO 'MOST' ARAB DIFFERENCES

GF191158 Doha QNA in Arabic 0827 GMT 19 Jan 82

[Text] Doha, 19 Jan (QNA)--Press reports published in Qatar today stress that contacts and consultations among Arab countries during the last 2 weeks resulted in comprehensive agreement on the importance of resuming the postponed Fes Arab summit. All Arab leaders are to represent their countries at this summit.

Quoting reliable Arab sources, the Qatari newspaper AL-'ARAB says that most of the Arab differences have ended and that there is a strong Arab inclination toward strengthening solidarity and searching for a solution to remaining differences.

The sources indicated that the forthcoming Arab foreign ministers meeting will witness developments in Arab relations and a comprehensive settlement in the Arab arena regarding relations among some Arab countries that still have differences.

The sources stressed that during the Arab meetings and consultations there was a call to form an Arab council consisting of the foreign ministers in order to effect Arab action that puts an end to all differences prior to the resumption of the Fes summit.

CSO: 4404/222

## BRIEFS

ACETIC ACID PLANT--The Gulf Organisation for Industrial Consulting (GOIC) has chosen Qatar as the site of a plant to produce acetic acid and its derivatives, it was announced in Doha. The plant is to be a joint venture with other Arab states. No details of the planned output or completion date were disclosed. The decision to build the acetic plant was taken at a meeting of GOIC's Executive Council held in the Qatari capital. It also recommended construction of a petroleum coke plant in the UAE and decided to conduct feasibility studies into joint projects to produce soda ash and aluminium foil. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 52, 28 Dec 81 p 9]

DESALINATION PROJECT--Sumitomo Heavy Industries of Japan, which was awarded a \$123 million contract last August to extend Qatar's Ras Abu Fontas power and water desalination plant, has granted a \$23.62 million subcontract to the Hollandse Constructie group. The Dutch company will supply four waste-heat boilers and six water tube boilers for the extension of the plant, to be completed in 1983 and enabling Qatar to meet its fresh water needs until 1987 (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, August 24). The extension of the plant will boost production from the current level of 32 million gallons of fresh water per day to 48 million gallons. Four other firms are working on the project. South Korea's Daelim Industry Company has a \$57.69 million contract to build reservoirs, a sweet water intake and a pump house. Japan's Kuboto is providing sea water pumps and 16 km of pipeline to be installed by Daelim between Ras Abu Fontas and Doha, the Qatari capital. A French firm, Alstom Atlantique, will supply 65 gas turbines due to be delivered next year, and Pirelli Construction Company, a subsidiary of Pirelli General Cable Works of Britain, will supply switchgear transformers and cables. With an eye on Qatar's water requirements after 1987, negotiations have started for the construction of another desalination and power plant at Shammal, to be completed in 1985 and to produce 35 million gallons of fresh water per day. The negotiations are between the country's Department of Electricity and a firm of international consultants. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 p 11]

GAS PRICE CUT--Qatar has reduced the price of its propane gas by 12 percent to \$225 per metric tonne, backdated to December 1, according to Gulf oil industry sources quoted by REUTERS. The price for butane gas remains the same at \$255 per metric tonne. The Qatari decision follows a recent announcement by Kuwait that it had cut its price for propane gas to \$228 a tonne also effective from December 1, while keeping the price of butane gas at \$258 a tonne. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 1, 4 Jan 82 p 11]



OUTGOING VENEZUELAN ENVOY--His Highness the Amir, Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad al Thani, received Venezuelan ambassador to Qatar Jesus Coronado Garcia in his office at ad-Dawhah Palace at 1000 today. The Venezuelan envoy came to bid farewell to the Amir at the end of his tour of office. [GF210732 Doha Domestic Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 20 Dec 81 GF]

OIL INDUSTRY SEMINAR BEGINS--Doha, 11 Jan (QNA)--The sixth Doha scientific seminar on the oil industry opened in Doha today. In addition to OAPEC, oil companies operating in the Gulf, international oil companies, and 105 scientists representing Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, Kuwait, Iraq and Qatar are participating. Speaking at the opening session, 'Abdallah Salat, director of the Petroleum Affairs Department in the Qatari Finance and Oil Ministry, said that the seminar reflects the participants' desire to increase cooperation and exchange of information and knowledge so as to achieve joint benefits for the oil industry in the Gulf. [Excerpt] [GF111427 Doha QNA in Arabic 1035 GMT 11 Jan 82]

ENVOY TO YAR--Qatari ambassador to Saudi Arabia 'Abd ar-Rahman Hamad al-'Attiyah presented a copy of his credentials to the YAR Foreign Affairs Minister as the nonresident ambassador of Qatar in San'a'. [GF061926 Doha QNA in Arabic 1430 GMT 6 Jan 82 GF]

CSO: 4404/222

'UKAZ' ON U.S. OPPOSITION TO SANCTIONS ON ISRAEL

PM181037 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 14 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Rejected Wrong"]

[Text] Washington's insistence on preventing at all costs the imposing of sanctions on Israel to make it comply with the Security Council resolution declaring the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights null and void is due to two things: The shortsightedness of U.S. policy in the Middle East and the U.S. administration's submission to Israel, which undermines its prestige as a superpower and lessens the importance of its role in the Middle East and of its friendship.

The U.S. stand is hostile to the Arabs; it will not contribute to establishing peace and security in the region. It is a stand that is contrary to that adopted by the U.S. administration on 17 December last year, when it did not veto the Security Council resolution calling on Israel to rescind the decision annexing the Golan, which goes to indicate that the U.S. stand then was tactical and its only aim was to dupe the Arabs temporarily--something which we reject.

Therefore we call upon the United States to shoulder its full responsibility in the Security Council, to stick to its previous stand and to add to it by enabling the Security Council to implement its resolution.

The United States must realize, and certainly does realize, that nothing will deter Israel short of mandatory international sanctions.

But if the United States deliberately ignores justice and logic and continues its unlimited support for Israel in the Security Council, it will lose its credibility in the Arab and international spheres.

Such stands are rejected by Arabs and Muslims, and we in the Kingdom side unconditionally with Syria regarding its legitimate right to regain the Golan.

Therefore we again call upon the United States and others to liberate themselves from Israeli domination; we call upon them all to adopt a neutral stand in the Security Council and to stop encouraging Israel to flout the will of the international community.

If this stand by the United States is due to the Congressional midterm elections which will take place this year and to fear of the Zionist lobby and of losing the Republican majority, that is a matter concerning the United States alone and would be an unacceptable excuse from a superpower.

SHARON'S PLAN FOR WEST BANK CRITICIZED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 27 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The New Conspiracy"]

[Text] It seems that successive events on the Arab scene have distracted attention from the frantic attempts that are taking place in the occupied land to change the material facts that were created by the 1967 Israeli occupation of what was left of Palestinian soil. The Camp David accords were drawn up to confirm the need to achieve a final solution regarding the future of this land. That solution was to be achieved in a process that has been called "autonomy for the Arabs living in those lands." The Egyptian regime has not been able to achieve an agreement that would be acceptable to the Israeli entity regarding this part of the Camp David accords, and negotiations have floundered, or more correctly, come to a dead end. This may result in the total destruction of the Camp David accords. All the cards in the game would thereby be turned over to the Israeli negotiator who would then decide matters pertaining to this case according to his wishes: autonomy for the Arab residents in the occupied territory without the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Israeli entity, represented by the plan of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to give the administration in the occupied land a civilian character, has turned its back on its Egyptian partner in the autonomy talks in the context of the general principles that were defined by the Camp David accords and their explanatory supplements. The Israeli entity has pursued a course that would enable it to impose an administration of a sort to help it realize a political and a legal objective that would portray the Israeli entity to the world as one seeking an end to the military occupation of occupied Arab land and especially that land which is stipulated in the Camp David accords.

The political objective is to keep the military character away from the administration of this land, which is considered occupied land, and to settle the question locally, that is, with the Arab residents of this land. The PLO, the legitimate representative of those residents, is to be kept away [from such a settlement].

Israel's legal objective is to try to consolidate this new reality by

utilizing the world media, which side with Israel, and striving to get recognition from the world through the United Nations Organization and its subordinate organizations. Israel would seek this after giving its new plan a weak form of civilian administration with false democratic institutions. If this plan is realized, and it appears that it is proceeding according to a well-considered plan and in the context of specific political considerations, Israel will then mock the Egyptian negotiator and ask for additional concessions, not the least of which will be recognition of this new reality. The new Egyptian administration will then undergo a difficult test in whose light the success of this plan will be determined. [If the plan succeeds], the Israeli entity will drag its feet on the withdrawal from the remaining Egyptian territory in the Sinai desert, as is stipulated in the Camp David accords.

The question that has to be raised here is this:

What have we, the Arabs, prepared to confront the new plan [that was drawn up by] the Israeli entity's minister of defense? The purpose of that plan is to deceive the world by giving the administration of the occupied Arab territory a civilian character after the formal termination of the military occupation.

So far the Arabs have not reached an agreement on a unified formula for confronting this new plan, and Arab leaders have not come to an agreement on an effective posture to foil such a conspiracy. Until Arab leaders meet at the next summit which will be held in Fez in Morocco, the Saudi peace plan remains the [only] alternative for all the liquidation plans that have been devised in an attempt to settle the question in favor of the Israeli entity and the enemies of the Arab nation. These include the kilometer 101 talks, Ariel Sharon's plan to give the administration in the occupied Arab land a civilian character and the Camp David accords.

The Saudi plan weighed all the possibilities and all the alternatives that are on the Arab and international scenes, and it chose from among these alternatives what may properly be called a better way, one that would be acceptable to the world and to the Arabs. The Saudi plan would settle the question fairly and comprehensively in a manner that would ensure that our Arab Palestinian people return to their land and regain other Arab territory from those who had usurped it. Unless the Arabs work toward the solution proposed by this plan and unless Arab countries coordinate [their efforts] to adopt the general principles included therein, our nation will not have time for a chance to look for ways out [of this crisis] and alternatives to the liquidation plans that are being presented on the Arab and international scenes.

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CSO: 4404/114

## SAUDI ARABIA

### STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF GULF REGION ANALYZED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD IN Arabic 1 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Muhammad 'Ali al-Tawzi: "The Gulf: Center of International Attention"]

[Text] For some months now some western leaders have been making numerous visits to the countries of the Gulf. These visits were both successive and simultaneous. Western diplomacy has taken action, and the action it has taken toward the Arabian Gulf has been energetic. What is behind all this? Have conditions changed in the area, requiring an intense effort on the part of the West toward the Gulf, or are there other matters involved? What is the reason for all this interest in the Gulf?

Since ancient times the Arab area has been historically the principal cross-roads for world trade and a juncture between the West, the Near East and the Far East. Caravans bearing goods from the Far East had to travel through the Arab region, and this gave this area its world-wide strategic dimension. In the past countries fought over this area, and the effects of these wars linger to this day and age. However, after Europeans discovered the sea route to southeast Asia around the Cape of Good Hope, the role of the Arab area was diminished for some time. But the Arab area soon regained its importance after the Suez Canal was built. Thus, Arab countries, especially those overlooking the sea found themselves in a position of greater importance than the position they had in the past. The discovery of oil increased the importance of the Arab area, and essentially the importance of the Arabian Gulf countries which until recently had been subject to British control, more specifically, until the end of World War II, when the British Empire declined and the United States of America emerged on the international scene.

The flow of large quantities of oil in the countries of the Gulf exercised primary influence in giving this area the extreme importance it enjoys in today's world. Accordingly, that area has continued to be the place which superpowers aspire to attain and to win over. Therefore, the attraction of oil is still bringing numerous contenders into the Arabian Gulf area. This area has thus been destined to become the hot spot over which the whole world would fight. The whole world would watch this area at all times, lest it be lost.



All new events in the area or in areas adjacent to the Gulf receive considerable attention from the superpowers who are trying to control the area where oil is being pumped. Therefore, both the United States and the Soviet Union are concerned with the ongoing struggle in the Horn of Africa. They are concerned with the war between Iraq and Iran and with the vicissitudes of politics in these areas that are adjacent to the Gulf area. Therefore, it is these events that practically determine both western and eastern reactions. When the Arabs imposed their oil boycott in 1973, there was a considerable outcry in the West, which threatened to occupy the oil wells and to seize the pipelines by force to ensure the flow of oil. The West maintained that posture, threatening, promising and vowing destruction if the flow of oil to it were stopped or turned off. The posture of the West reached the point where the economic crisis in which it was floundering at that time was attributed to Arab positions which resulted from the West's support for and aid to Zionist expansion.

The ouster of the Shah from Iran, the installation in that country of a government that is hostile to the United States and the Soviet intervention in and occupation of Afghanistan have made the West fearful for its interests in the countries of the Gulf, especially after the summit meeting that was held last February [to discuss] cooperation among the countries of the Gulf. [That meeting produced a resolution of] determination to protect the gains and the national resources of the Gulf countries. The West is discouraged by this resolution which may in the long run do away with its interests in the area after it had regained its privileges in the Gulf of Suez and placed the present Egyptian regime under its control. Thus western political figures have begun flocking to the Gulf area in an intense manner. Each one of those visitors is seeking to ensure his interests in the Arabian Gulf.

The purpose of Haig's visit to the Gulf area was to maintain the status of U.S.-Gulf relations which existed in the administration of former President Carter and, if possible, to strengthen these relations in favor of the United States which is beginning to sense the signs of an imminent coolness in relations in the aftermath of the summit meeting for cooperation among Gulf countries. The United States has also begun to see that Soviet infiltration in adjacent areas--in Afghanistan and in Bab al-Mandab--is threatening its interests. The United States thinks that any action that is not in its interests is the result of Soviet influence, even if such an action were against the United States and the Soviet Union at the same time.

Margaret Thatcher, Britain's prime minister, visited the Gulf to remind officials there of Britain's old relations with the countries of the Gulf and of the possibility of developing these relations. Thatcher, under whose administration Britain is suffering from a sharp economic recession, high unemployment and numerous social and political problems, preferred to hold an open door to the Gulf. Her tour of the Gulf may enable her to produce results that would help her get out of the economic crisis whose danger to the United Kingdom is growing every day. That economic crisis may cause Thatcher to lose her position in the next general elections.

As far as Chancellor Kreisky of Austria and Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany are concerned, serving the interests of their countries requires that they ensure the continued flow of significant quantities of oil to their countries so that their economic programs and plans would not be affected. Therefore, they are trying to establish a certain measure of confidence [with these countries], and they are also trying to establish relations between the countries of the Arabian Gulf and the countries of the European Economic Community which wants to emerge as a world power of consequence in the international community. The European Community is therefore betting on the establishment of significant relations with oil areas so it can preserve its existence and count on creating a significant balance in international life.

In short, visits made by western officials, especially European officials, are relying on the creation of close ties with the Gulf area, which will either be a supplier of oil or a market for heavy western industry. Western leaders have succeeded to a certain extent in reaching agreements to sell weapons to a few countries of the Gulf despite Israel's opposition to these sales.

8592

CSO: 4404/114

PEACE PLAN EXAMINED IN LIGHT OF UN RESOLUTION 181

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 1 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Nur al-Din al-Madwar: "The Saudi Initiative: a Way out of Vicious Circle for All Parties"]

[Text] The demise of Camp David and the disappearance of the European initiative brought forth the Saudi initiative which paves the way to a just peace. Countries of the world, and chief among them is the United States, have to remember UN Resolution 181 which they all approved.

On the visible side of developments in the Middle East three initiatives for the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace all over the area were made consecutively. These three initiatives are as follows:

1. The U.S. initiative was formulated in two agreements that came to be known as the Camp David accords. These accords were reached 3 years ago between Cairo and Tel Aviv; Washington was and still is a full partner in these accords.
2. The European initiative seemed to show signs of action in the aftermath of the Venice Summit some months ago.
3. The Arab initiative was proclaimed recently by His Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the crown prince and deputy prime minister of Saudi Arabia. Events around these initiatives speak for themselves. These events are:

1. The U.S. initiative which was signed, sealed and delivered in the Camp David accords has turned into a vicious circle. This fact has been established by the shameful failure of the aforementioned initiative whose attempts to solve the Palestinian problem in a manner that defies fairness and logic have been futile. This is because the process of bringing an end to the Arab-Israeli dispute and of establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is a task that has been and will continue to be impossible as long as attempts to establish that peace contravene the principles and the charter of the United Nations and violate the resolutions

that were adopted by the UN General Assembly and by the Security Council, starting with Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947.

Although Camp David has scored some success in one of the two accords with the achievement of a bilateral peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, it is also true that Egypt is only one Arab country as opposed to 20 other Arab countries whose position contradicts Egypt's.

As far as the second of the two agreements is concerned, the one that pertains to the Palestinian question, it has been and will continue to be impossible for Camp David to distort this question or to turn it into a question of a mere superficial autonomy to replace that of an independent state for the Arab people of Palestine. This will be impossible, unless the solution is at least in accordance with UN resolutions.

Hence, by relying on the Camp David accords as a way that would lead to peace in the Middle East, the U.S. initiative has reached a dead end and has become irrelevant. It goes without saying that this initiative has not achieved peace in the area and has not settled the Arab-Israeli dispute. This initiative is in fact a misnomer. It seems that the Reagan administration came to this realization before al-Sadat's death and took action [in that regard]. To some observers this action appeared to be positive and to be inclined toward getting rid of what was left of Camp David and its accords.

2. The European initiative has been and continues to be talk and no action or action without a blessing. With the exception of a statement that was issued about 15 months ago by the countries of the European Common Market at the Venice Summit or the "fact finding" tours that were made one after the other by two emissaries of the Common Market countries, the aforementioned initiative has not had any serious effect [on the situation]. For some time now it is no longer even being mentioned.

3. It is quite obvious that the Saudi initiative came forth to pave the proper way to a just and comprehensive peace, if peace is really being sought for the Middle East through politics and diplomacy. By adhering to the principles and provisions of the UN Charter and by honoring and respecting UN resolutions, this initiative has emerged as the only alternative to a military alternative for settling the crisis in the area. This crisis is likely to explode at any moment throughout the world.

To put it more clearly, the ball now is in the court of all the international parties that agreed to the establishment of a sovereign, independent Palestinian Arab state. These countries did that when they approved UN Resolution 181 on 29 November 1947.

The United States of America in particular was at the forefront of these countries whose delegations to the UN General Assembly voted yes on the aforementioned resolution. The delegations of 32 other countries, constituting the required majority for adopting the resolution, voted the same way also. According to the official minutes of the session these countries are:

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, the Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Uruguay, the Philippines, Peru, Poland, Sweden, the Ukraine, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Uruguay and Venezuela.

By approving Resolution 181 on 29 November 1947 these countries committed themselves to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to have a sovereign state in their land. The United States of America took that course, and this obligates it to honor the pledge it made in front of the international community.

Furthermore, Israel itself has committed itself to the fact that the Palestinian people were to have a sovereign, independent Palestinian Arab state in Palestine. This commitment is at the heart of the resolution according to which Israel was admitted as a member of the United Nations. That resolution was UN General Assembly Resolution 373 of 11 May 1949.

The UN General Assembly recognized the Jewish state of Israel and approved its membership in the organization only on the condition which Israel accepted and obligated itself to carry out. Israel promised it would honor the two resolutions issued by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947 and on 11 December 1948. It need not be said that the United Nations would not have issued Resolution 273 of 11 May 1949 accepting Israel as a member of the United Nations had Israel refused then to promise that it would carry out Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947, that is, recognize the right [of the Palestinian people] to establish an independent Palestinian Arab state in Palestine.

The Saudi Arabian initiative has thus forced international parties to review the promises they made; the obligations they undertook as members of the United Nations Organization; and the positions they assumed [on that matter]. These positions are recorded in official reports and documents.

Sooner or later the UN General Assembly will convene its regular session. When the Palestinian question is presented, the UN General Assembly will have to confront the matter its positions on two resolutions it had adopted: Resolution 181, which requires the establishment of an independent Palestinian Arab state with boundaries drawn and recognized by the United Nations, and Resolution 273, which accepted Israel as a member of the UN organization only under the condition to which Israel had committed itself, a condition which Israel promised it would carry out: the right [of the Palestinian people] to establish a Palestinian state in Palestine.

This is the same question that delegations of the member countries will face, especially the U.S. delegation whose government was the first to vote yes on Resolutions 181 and 273. The yes vote on Resolutions 181 and 273 was an unequivocal and a full recognition of the fact that an independent, Palestinian Arab state would have to be established in Palestine and that this state would not be an autonomous administration under the authority of either a temporary or a permanent Israeli occupation. The texts of



Resolutions 181 and 273 can be re-read at the UN General Assembly so that all the delegations can hear them and so that it would become clear to those who have forgotten and those who pretend to have forgotten that these two resolutions, particularly the first, do not contain a single letter to indicate anything called administrative autonomy to take the place of an independent Palestinian Arab state.

There is a consensus in western and UN circles that the Saudi Arabian initiative is a master's stroke that came at the right time. The failure of initiatives which had been attempted and the disillusionment with them have strengthened feelings of satisfaction with this new initiative which brought the international community in its entirety face to face with its responsibilities. The question of Palestine is a question of a nation whose homeland and land are internationally recognized in accordance with the charter and resolutions of the United Nations. This recognition constitutes a promise made by the countries that voted yes on Resolution 181 and Resolution 273. In addition, Israel too made that promise and that commitment when it accepted membership in the United Nations Organization in accordance with the conditions mentioned in Resolution 273.

Amidst the vacuum in which previous initiatives are being made or have been made, the secret of the Saudi Arabian initiative lies in its source. The Saudi Arabian initiative sprang from the heart of the Middle East, from the heart of the area itself. According to an old proverb, the people of Mecca know their own people best. Those who wish to unravel a problem have only to follow the proof.

8592

CSO: 4404/114

U.S. ATTITUDE TO SAUDI PEACE PLAN TERMED 'ENCOURAGING'

PM200829 Riyadh AR-RIYAD in Arabic 16 Jan 82 p 1

[TAL'AT WAFA Report: "Well-Informed U.S. Sources Tell AR-RIYAD: Saudi Peace Plan Good Basis for Solving Palestine Problem"]

[Text] Well-informed U.S. sources have told AR-RIYAD that the general impression in President Reagan's administration is that there will be no peace in the Middle East "without a just solution to the Palestinian people's problem."

The U.S. attitude to the Saudi peace plan, the sources added, is encouraging, and "many officials in the U.S. Government concerned with the Middle East situation hope that the principles contained in the plan will be put forward for discussion."

The well-informed U.S. sources went on to say that the Reagan administration does not wish to end the Camp David accords because it believes that they have not been fully implemented; they have been only half implemented. It also believes that the accords provide for a "comprehensive solution" of the Middle East crisis.

The sources said that the U.S. Government is of the opinion that there will be no peace in the area without a just solution to the Palestinian people's problem and is therefore seeking a solution satisfactory to all the parties to the conflict.

The U.S. sources said that principles of the Saudi peace plan are "considered a good basis for solving the Palestinian problem, since they constitute the essence of various international resolutions, including UN resolutions which the U.S. Government has already supported."

USO: 4404/222

YAMANI DISCUSSES OIL PRODUCTION, PRICES

NC161646 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 16 Jan 82

[Text] Nicosia, 16 Jan (AFP)--Saudi Oil Minister Shaykh Ahmad Zaki Yamani has ruled out a possible oil production cutback designed to uphold the OPEC standard price of 34 dollars a barrel, the Middle East Economic Survey reported here today.

"We will leave it to market forces to determine the level. If there is a serious drop in demand, we think Saudi production will be affected and it will come down not by our own decision but by the decision of market forces," Shaykh Yamani said in an interview with the REVIEW in Riyadh.

Saudi Arabia's current production ceiling is 8.5 million barrels a day.

The minister said he expected the market to remain depressed in the second half of this year because of the continuing world economic recession. He had expected a balancing out of oil supply and demand by mid-1982, but his forecast assumed a pick-up in the U.S. economy during the first three months of this year and a refiring of the economy of other western countries. This, he added, had failed to materialize.

"From the very beginning our policy has been based on using the price mechanism in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to work as a built-in system for production programming," he said.

When the freeze on oil prices expires at the end of the year, there will have to be "either an extension of the freeze..., or a small increase which would take into consideration part of the effect of inflation," Shaykh Yamani said.

He did not expect, however, a real increase in oil prices over the next few years. "Maybe when demand picks up and we have a strong economic recovery, and when coal no longer competes strongly with fuel oil" there could be a genuine increase, he said.

"This could be either around the end of this decade or in the nineties," he suggested.

## SAUDI ARABIA

### BRIEFS

PAPER CONDEMNS ISRAELI STATEMENTS--AL-JAZIRAH newspaper said the daily Israeli practices and provocations against the Arab states stressed the importance of an unchangeable message that "what had been usurped by force could only be restored by force." The paper deplored the statement of Israeli chief of staff made last night in which he said in any future Middle East war, the Arab eastern front will dramatically collapse and will lead to an end of war in the region. The paper described the statement as "another fresh sign of Israeli aggressive designs and policies in the region." The paper urged for forging Arab solidarity as the only means for confronting the Israeli and enemies' challenges and provocations to the Islamic and Arab nation. [Text] [LD101520 Riyadh SPA in English 1209 GMT 10 Jan 82]

AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN--Riyadh, 12 Jan (SPA)--Saudi Arabia and Japan today signed an agreement on water conversion at a total cost of 27.363 million dollars. The agreement also provides for the exchange of information and expertise in the field of desalination technology and establishment of an institute for desalination technology studies. [Excerpt] [LD130330 Riyadh SPA in English 1231 GMT 12 Jan 82 LD]

ARMY OFFICER PROMOTED--By virtue of a royal decree, Maj Gen 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Mash'ur has been promoted to Lieutenant General effective 15 January 1982. 131905 Riyadh Domestic Television Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 13 Jan 82 GF]

SO: 4404/222

## BRIEFS

ANTI-MONOPOLY MEASURES--Within the framework and scope of the policy announced by the revolution to relieve the masses of their hardships, break up monopoly and reduce the prices of consumer and food goods, the Ministry of Cooperation, Trade and Supply has offered all possible incentives to al-Jazirah Trade and Services Company, a public sector organization, to import large quantities of food oils, rice, lentils, powered milk and tea. 'Abd-al-Rahman Shams-al-Din, the director of the company, told AL-SAHFAH that the company has formulated a plan to achieve an ample supply of consumer goods and foodstuffs as well as building materials. He added that the implementation of the plan began with direct dealings with retailers, obviating the intervention of middlemen and wholesalers. The company set aside a list of names of their retail agents in order to supply them with the quantities of these goods they need. 'Abd-al-Rahman Shams-al-Din said that the application of the plan had achieved success as reflected in the ready availability of these goods and the reduction of their prices to below the specified price. The prices of iron and wood dropped to 50 percent of the prevailing market price. The price of powered milk declined to 100 piasters a carton. Similar declines occurred in the prices of other necessary commodities. Minister of Cooperation, Trade and Supply Faruq al-Maqbul will attend the big celebration that the al-Jazirah Trade and Services Company will hold when the "prosperity convoy" is sent underway. This convoy will consist of 12 trucks loaded with consumer goods and foodstuffs for distribution to retailers in the tri-capital. There are 500 of these retailers. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 14 Sep 81 p 1] 8591

TRIBAL CONCILIATION CONFERENCE--Maj Gen 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib, chief of the State security organization, held a meeting with Fadlallah Hammad, assistant governor of Kordofan Province, and Police Lt Gen 'Ali Yass, inspector general of the police. At the meeting, the officials discussed the security aspects of a solution to the present conflict between the al-Ruzayqat and al-Masiriya tribes in Southern Kordofan and Southern Darfur provinces. The assistant governor of Kordofan told AL-SAHFAH that a meeting will be held on 15 September in the city of al-Du'ayn which will include the governors of Southern Kordofan and Southern Darfur as well as the security committees of the two provinces. The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the convening of an expanded conference between the conflicting sides. The assistant governor also announced that deliberation and coordination will take place with First Vice President Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Majid Hamid Khalil, the secretary general of the Sudanese Socialist Union, the chief of the State Security Organization and the governments of Kordofan and Darfur concerning the site and dates of the conciliation conference.



The conciliation measures will begin immediately with the exchange of cattle between the two tribes to pave the way for the eventual settlement of the dispute. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 14 Sep 81 p 1] 8591

ITALIAN LOAN--Minister of National Planning Engineer Nasr-al-Din Mustafa received the Italian ambassador to Sudan in his office yesterday morning. The meeting dealt with the progress of work on projects which Italy helped finance through soft loans within the framework of the first and second protocols between the two governments. During the meeting, the ambassador also presented the minister with the draft of the third protocol along with a copy of the third loan agreement plan which the Italian Government has decided to offer to the Sudanese Government based on a request previously submitted by the Ministry of National Planning. The purpose of the loan request is to meet the government's obligations with regard to the new Kubra Kusti project which was implemented by the Italian (Rika) Company. The \$9.5-million loan will be repaid over a period of 12 years including a 2-year grace period. The interest rate on the loan is 4 percent. The minister thanked the ambassador for Italy's efforts to assist Sudan in implementing its development programs. He agreed to prepare the final draft of the third loan agreement plan before the end of the month in preparation for the signing of the agreement during the first week in October in Rome. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 9 Sep 81 p 1] 8591

NUMAYRI THREATENS RESIGNATION--Khartoum, 21 Jan (MENA)--Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri today held a meeting with the political and executive leaders in Sudan to discuss the internal conditions in the light of the developments in the country during the past 2 weeks. The MENA correspondent in Khartoum has learned that President Numayri spoke for 3 long hours during the meeting. However, the contents of the speech and the decisions and recommendations adopted have not been disclosed. The correspondent has also learned that President Numayri has received the recommendations which the political and executive leaders prepared following 5 days of continuous meetings under the chairmanship of first Vice President Gen 'Abd al-Majid Khalil. President Numayri had delivered a long speech at the first session of these meetings in which he said that there will absolutely be no retreat from the economic policies according to which the government subsidy of certain commodities has been stopped. In this speech, Numayri threatened to resign if his program, which aims at improving the Sudanese economy and overcoming the various problems it faces, is not implemented. [NC211721 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1637 GMT 21 Jan 82]

OPPOSITION LEADER'S BODY ARRIVES, BURIED--Khartoum, 14 Jan (SUNA)--The late Ash-Sharif Husayn Yusuf al-Hindi's body was buried today in the family graveyard in Barri, which lies to the east of Khartoum. The body arrived in Khartoum aboard a special Iraqi airliner at dawn today, after the government had agreed to bury it in Sudan, thus conforming to Sudanese morals at a time when the policy dealers--exploited the body of the deceased as manifested by escorting it to several known Arab capitals in a political demonstration that is rejected by religion, morals and values. [Text] [JN141230 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1100 GMT 14 Jan 82]

CSO: 4504/167

FUTURE ROLE OF HABIB ACHOUR DISCUSSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 85, 26 Sep 81 p 31

[Article by Abdellatif el-Farati: Tunis--After Restrictions on Him Are Eased, Habib Achour Makes His Move and May Cause New Conflict in Union Circles"]

[Text] "Pilgrimage to Qurbus" was the title of an article in a Tunisian newspaper describing the delegations which come to this Tunisian city which enjoys gushing mineral waters and is known to many of our Arab brothers who have come for medicinal purposes.

These delegations did not come to be cured by the mineral waters; rather, they came to visit Habib Achour, the former union leader who came to this city on 3 August, after restrictions on him were eased.

On that day in 1979, Habib Achour was the first union leader to be released from jail, before the government set forth its amnesty policy. However, Habib Achour was the last union leader to have restrictions upon him eased and was the only one to be under house arrest, not communicating with anyone, even by telephone. He was also the first union leader arrested (sentenced to 10 years at hard labor).

A source close to the government has said that Habib Achour, Ahmed Ben Saleh (former minister of planning and strong man in the 1960's, who has been living in exile since he escaped from prison in 1973) and Mohamed al-Masmoudi (former foreign minister who is living in Tunis, occasionally under guard, and who does not have the right of travel) still have the enmity of President Bourguiba, and for that reason are the only ones who do not enjoy the political freedom brought by the government of Mohamed Mzali in 1980.

Until last June, there was no sign of an easing in restrictions imposed upon Habib Achour, who had stirred up the political situation in the country in 1977 when he was head of the unions. He and other union leaders were accused of organizing the bloody events of 26 January and were put in prison.

Even though Habib Achour has not been in prison since 1979, during this period severe restrictions have been imposed upon his freedom by order of President Bourguiba personally, according to responsible circles. However, the surprise was on 12 June, when President Bourguiba told the new Secretary General of the Federation of Unions, Tayeb Bakoush, that he intended to release Habib Achour.

Tayeb Bakoush told us that this decision came at his urging after he had discussed the subject with the President on three occasions.

Although today Habib Achour enjoys freedom of movement in the city of Qurbus (50 kilometers east of the capital), can receive anyone he wishes and can use the telephone, he still cannot travel freely outside Qurbus.

However, the new union leadership, which is in complete agreement with the leadership under Habib Achour, and which was tasked by the emergency conference in Qurbus last spring with trying to have Achour released, considers what has happened a very important step in continuing efforts to have complete freedom restored to their former leader.

Nonetheless, union circles in Tunisia and even the government fear that matters will slip out of the hands of the new leaders, whom the government sees as very prudent because they have limited their demands to the union sphere and have not interfered in politics.

#### "Very Satisfied"

In an interview between Tayeb Bakoush and Achour before the restrictions upon the latter were eased, Achour said that he was "very satisfied" with the Qafsah Conference, which was a hiatus between control over the unions by the government's union leaders and the return of the leaders who were with Achour. He said that he was also happy with the way that the new leadership was proceeding, which would guarantee the unions' independence from the government. However, since Achour has been released and has been in touch with the unions loyal to him, he has changed his position, appearing to wish to head the Federation of Unions again.

One member who boycotted the Qafsah Conference told us, "Habib Achour never recognized the legality of the Conference, and of course he did not recognize the February 1978 Conference, which suspended the current Federation of Unions and placed leaders close to the government at the head of the Federation. Simply, Habib Achour wants to come back to lead the Federation, which cannot happen unless a new conference is held, whether or not it is true that Achour refuses to recognize the Qafsah Conference and the union leadership it chose, which included all of his colleagues who were in positions of leadership until 1978.

Most certainly, the present leadership refuses any discussion of a new conference because of "the genuine legality of last spring's conference and its atmosphere of true democratic freedom."

Of course, the union leaders have a different explanation. According to a high official, they refuse to leave their esteemed leader Habib Achour out of union affairs and, at the meeting of the National Council in November, they may try to amend the organization's constitution to create the post of president for Habib Achour.

However, Achour's supporters refuse this solution as they see it because they do not see their leader taking an honorary position, with all the authority resting in the hands of the secretary general and not the president.

Here observers ask: What will next fall bring? Will it be a new chance for union infighting in spite of the great social needs which await the present leadership as it faces a situation that has been frozen for 4 years, in addition to the need to solve the problem of the Federation's presence in the coming November elections?

A large number of union organizations are behind the current leadership, especially at the sector level, while Achour's supporters find their strength in the provinces and in the local organizations.

If the issue for Achour is one of revenge and of imposing himself as a leader after the authorities drove him out, the current leaders think that it is not a question of revenge, but one of advantage, especially since the government has changed since Mzali took over and things have actually opened up inside the country. There is some whispering among the present union leaders that Achour's mistakes in 1977 and 1978 in assessing the union movement led to the break with the government, the clash and the inventing of a case against the union leadership, which helped create organizations whose existence was damaging to the interests of the workers and which did nothing for 3 years.

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CSO: 4504/29

TUNISIA

PRIME MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON MIDDLE EAST, MAGHREB ROLE

PM181523 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali by Paul Balta and Michel Deure: "Interview With Tunisian Prime Minister Mr Mzali; 'The Maghreb Has an Important Role to Play in the Arab World in France's Favor'"]

[Text] On Friday, 15 January, Mr Mitterrand will receive for luncheon Mr Mohamed Mzali, the Tunisian prime minister, who has already had a talk with the head of state on 5 November. This new meeting precedes Mr Mauroy's first official visit to Tunisia on 4-7 February.

Tunis--"With Mr Mitterrand we shall undertake a general survey while with Mr Mauroy we will study specific issues," Mr Mzali stated, adding: "In November President Mitterrand told me: I should like us to meet again in December or January and to talk for at least 3 hours with no set agenda. That is the full scale of the president's vision. He treated me as a representative of the Third World, from north Africa, who has ideas, a viewpoint and stance and who is not simply a buyer or seller but also a partner. That, in my opinion, is what is new. The play between north and south consists in the fact that the north sees the south as an open mouth and outstretched hand whereas a man of the Third World has a heart, feelings, a brain and problems and can express pertinent comments on world problems. We can meet without talking about markets. It is desirable that such meetings between representatives of friendly and solidary countries should be regular. Already my Algerian and Moroccan counterparts and I meet regularly. I should like to see this new approach extended to friendly countries like France."

[Question] Will you repeat your invitation to Mr Mitterrand to visit Tunisia?

[Answer] Mr Beregovoy, who met with President Bourguiba recently, confirmed that the French head of state would pay an official visit to Tunis during the year. It has even been contemplated that this visit may take place in early fall.

[Question] Several Arab capitals have been worried in the past few months at certain statements made by the French Government regarding the Near East. So far Tunisia has observed a strict reticence. Can you break this reticence today?

[Answer] The French Government's statements and actions on the Near East question have removed the fears we might have had after 10 May.



In Saudi Arabia Mr Mitterrand adopted a clear and unequivocal stance on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the formation of a state. Any other interpretation of the French stance smacks of polemics or misapprehension. The interest which France has displayed in the Fahd plan and the decision to put off President Mitterrand's visit to Israel prove--if proof is needed--that France is opposed to Israeli expansionism and is working actively for a just and lasting solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

For my part, moreover, I do not believe that France and Europe will agree to fade from the Near East scene when there is a danger of reinforcing the USSR-U.S. bipolarity.

It is equally obvious that the Arab-Israeli conflict, with its international repercussions, cannot reasonably be resolved solely by the Arabs and the Israelis. We already know how difficult it is to get the Israelis to sit down next to the Palestinians.

#### "Operational Complementarity" With Maghreb

All those who, with the United Nations, believe that the Palestinian problem is central to the Near East problem obviously cannot stand aloof from such an issue which is moreover a threat to peace and security in France and Europe.

[Question] The Maghreb has always remained close to French concerns. Do you believe that Paris should play a more decisive role in the Maghreb?

[Answer] Now that the Maghreb has come of age and is playing an important part in the Near East and Africa, new relations based on mutual interest can be woven between the two shores of the Mediterranean. The Maghreb is an impressive entity with definite potential. France and Europe cannot ignore it.

The Maghreb and France are different, but between them there is a broad field of complementary matters at the level of economic and technological relations and international action for the people's independence and development. As far as France is concerned, an overall and balanced view of the Maghreb and no longer an unbalanced view would render this complementary operational. Thus it is that, [here LE MONDE apparently drops one or more lines] playing in Brussels in favor of the Maghreb, the Maghreb also has a big part to play in the Arab world in France's favor, the move of the seat of the Arab League to Tunis has highlighted the reciprocal nature of interests between France and the Maghreb.

[Question] All the same, the building up of this Maghreb must progress. . .

[Answer] Many things are being done, for instance on the plane of industrial integration, taking our complementarities into account. The Maghreb looks a little like a piecemeal construction site [construction par pieces detachees].

[Question] Yes, but the Western Sahara....

[Answer] I believe reason will prevail. There are contacts between Morocco and Algeria and there is talk of a plan for a high-level meeting. Hassan II and

President Chadli Bendjedid have resolved to play the peace card. I have met them both and I formed the conviction that each country knows it is in its interest to cooperate with the other, with the existing regime.

[Question] There are also difficulties between Tunis and Tripoli, as was borne out by Libya's recent veto on Tunisia's admission to the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries [OAPEC].

[Answer] That was a lovers' tiff. The Libyans would have liked us to ask them to sponsor our admittance. Now, we asked nothing of any country and it was OAPEC which asked us. Objectively relations with Libya have improved on the economic plane. The minister of transportation will visit Tripoli in February and I myself am prepared to pay a visit to Libya as soon as preparations have been made.

#### Financial Cooperation

[Question] To return to Franco-Tunisian relations, which the two countries have asserted they want to expand, are they not taking a long time to take shape, as in the case of the project to create a Tunisian-Qatari-French investment bank?

[Answer] Tunisian-French financial cooperation has been developed favorably for over 10 years. This development, sure but slow--financial aid is increasing by 10 percent a year--should be accelerated to accord with our financing requirements. All the more so since the total investments for the sixth plan of 1982-1988 will double compared with the total investments realized during the fifth plan (1977-1981). From the 91 million dinars in public aid which we contracted with France in the period 1977-1981 we hope to reach, in the 1982-1986 period of the sixth plan, commitments totalling over 200 million dinars (FR2.3 billion), which would provide an annual average of 40 million dinars (FR420 million). Indeed, in addition to the financial package currently being negotiated we signed a special contract last December for a sixth cement works worth FR107 million. That represents total public credit commitments in the order of FR350 million for 1981. The annual average of FR420 million we would like to reach over the next 5 years is therefore possible.

If we cannot speak of any notable expansion of cooperation over the past few years, we can nonetheless note with satisfaction the continuation of cultural and technical cooperation programs in particular. As for the expansion we want, it will assume specific form in the key sector of industrial cooperation. Indeed for a year now contracts have been under discussion between French and Tunisian industrial firms, mainly in the automotive industry (Note 1) (Pugeot and Renault) to establish and implement joint projects which should see the light of day within the next 2 years.

As for the trilateral bank, it is for the French partners to follow suit, since we intend to conclude a definite agreement with Qatar in the very near future, as we have done with Algeria, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia for the creation of similar institutions.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

WAM-PTI AGREEMENT--It was announced today that the UAE and India have agreed to exchange news and information through their respective news agencies. According to the agreement, which will come into effect on 10 January 1982, the Press Trust of India (PTI) will transmit the news it receives from the Emirates News Agency (WAM) on its internal network, which covers all the Indian states, while WAM will translate and transmit news and reportage from PTI on its internal network. [GF041410 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1214 GMT 4 Jan 82 GF]

BANGLADESH LOAN AGREEMENT--An agreement was signed today in Abu Dhabi, according to which Bangladesh will receive a loan of 85 million dirhams from the Abu Dhabi fund for Arab economic development. The loan will be used to finance the (Shita Jong) fertilizer project. The loan will be paid off in a period of 15 years, which includes a grace period of 5 years. [GF062004 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1212 GMT 6 Jan 82 GF]

NEW JORDANIAN ENVOY--The UAE Government welcomed the nomination of 'Amir Shammut as the new Jordanian ambassador to the UAE. [GF171645 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 16 Jan 82 p 2 GF]

CSO: 4404/222

## SDAR FOREIGN MINISTER HOLDS TALKS IN MEXICO

LD162244 Algiers APS in Arabic 1400 GMT 16 Jan 82

[Text] Haqzah, SDAR, 16 Jan (APS)--A Saharan delegation led by SDAR Foreign Minister Ibrahim Hakim paid an official 2-day visit to Mexico at the invitation of his Mexican opposite number. A Saharan source said that Hakim was received by Mexican President Lopez Portillo and that he handed the president a message from Mohamed Abdelaziz, Polisario secretary general and chairman of the Revolution Command Council. The situation in north-west Africa and the means for the consolidation of relations between the two countries were discussed at the meeting. The Saharan delegation then had talks with the leader of the ruling party, who was accompanied by senior officials including foreign relations official and member of the Executive Committee. After talks with Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda, in the presence of the deputy foreign minister and senior ministry officials, the Saharan delegation attended a luncheon given in its honor by the head of Mexican diplomacy.

During the banquet, which was attended by senior officials, and the dean of the diplomatic corps, Jorge Castaneda delivered a speech, in which he said in part: Your visit, Mr Minister, has special significance to a nation whose history had been one of struggle against colonialism and its remnants, and it sympathises from its own experience with the peoples struggling for freedom. While I welcome you I am certain that your presence in this capital will be another step toward the consolidation of our friendship and the continuation of the development of our relations. I hope that during your short stay with us you will find confirmation during the talks which you will have with the authorities of the Government of Mexico and the various representatives of the people for the sentiments of friendship and for our desire to contribute positively to the cause of peace which the Mexican nation champions, and that you will carry this message from our people to the Saharan people and government.

Then he referred to the right of every people to self-determination and condemned any foreign interference and all forms of domination. The Mexican minister said: We have discussed at length these issues, especially the manifestations which show the Saharan problem as one of decolonization.

The Mexican minister then went on to say: My government is determined to contribute to the achievement of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations and I confirm to your excellency that Mexico will continue to make great efforts at

the United Nations in line with the resolutions of the African heads of state calling for a just and final solution to the problem of securing for the Saharan people the free expression of their will without bias. Mexico's full support for the recent UN resolution in October reflects our adherence to the principles of self-determination, noninterference and respect for territorial integrity and the peaceful settlement of conflicts and constitutes our special national identity. While I express to you the sincere wishes of the Mexican Government for a speedy, just and final peace in the SDAR I wish the Saharan people, the friend of the Mexican people, happiness and prosperity.

Ibrahim Hakim was also received by the speaker of the House of Deputies. The warmth of the reception accorded to the Saharan delegation reflects the level of relations between the SDAR and Mexico and the reputation which the Saharan people enjoy through the world and also the isolation of Morocco. Mexican officials expressed to the Saharan delegation the Mexico's solidarity with the struggle of the Saharan people led by the Polisario, the Saharan source said.

The Mexican press also showed great interest in the visit. Before the departure of the delegation to other Latin American capitals Ibrahim Hakim held a press conference in which he analyzed developments in the Western Sahara and stressed the danger of American interference in the conflict.

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